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# THE TIMES

INTERNATIONAL  
EDITION

No 64,281 MONDAY MARCH 16 1992 40p

## The Majors enter first full week of campaigning with a spring in their step



The Majors in relaxed mood at their Huntingdon home yesterday, shortly before the prime minister's first "talkabout". Among friends, page 7

## Labour to start 50p top tax rate at £40,000

BY PHILIP WEBSTER, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

LABOUR has fixed £40,000 as the starting rate of its new 50p top rate of tax, scrapped plans for "savings tax" on unearned income and is proposing to raise income tax thresholds by double the inflation rate.

Those will be John Smith's main measures when he unveils his shadow budget at Westminster today amid the kind of suspense that preceded Norman Lamont's Budget last week.

The shadow chancellor is preparing to claim that his is a tax-cutting budget for most of the population. Neil Kin-

Full coverage and analysis of the campaign pages 6, 7 and 9

Two-note Toryism... 12  
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Economic view... 19

nock, the party leader, yesterday called it fair and not punitive. Roy Hattersley, the deputy leader, told a party rally in London last night that Labour would ensure that money was redistributed from the rich to the poor.

Mr Smith will unfold plans to increase spending by more than £1.5 billion on health, education and other public services, financed by reversing Mr Lamont's new 20 per cent income tax band on the first £2,000 of taxable income, and a £1 billion recovery programme to pull Britain out of recession.

Those will be in addition to the already announced £3.65 billion benefits package that will give single pensioners an extra £5 a week and married couples £8, and increase child benefit for all children to £9.95 a week.

The increases and the lifting of the thresholds by twice the 4.5 per cent needed to keep pace with inflation will be paid for by the new top rate tax, the plan to lift the ceiling on national insurance contributions on earnings above £21,000 and restrictions to tax relief. Mr Smith's plan to raise thresholds at a cost of about £800 million will remove more than 250,000 people from paying tax.

He will use that to refute the Conservative charge that Labour intends to raise taxes for the poor as well as the rich through reversing the 20 per cent band proposal. The

threshold rise will also soften the impact of the national insurance increase, by exempting more income from tax. No one earning under £23,000 should pay more tax than they are now and must be better off and pay less tax, Labour will claim today.

The lower paid will also be helped by a reform of national insurance contributions designed to ensure that more people at the bottom end of the pay scale do not have to pay them. Labour leaders will emphasise that their shadow budget means that eight out of ten families will be better off under Labour.

The leadership's decision to abandon the savings tax — which would have involved the imposition of a 9p charge on unearned income of £3,000 a year for non-pensioners — will please Labour MPs who have been worried about its likely effect on potential supporters who have built up substantial nesteggs.

The £40,000 top rate threshold is higher than most predictions. It would affect fewer than a million taxpayers, but would raise more than £2 billion. It has been pitched high enough to reassure voters in marginal seats in London and the South-East. Some MPs and shadow cabinet members had hoped Labour would drop the abolition of the national insurance ceiling. It will raise £2.7 billion that Labour needs to finance its investment and benefits packages.

Labour will say today that the threshold rise is not being financed by borrowing but by the proposed tax changes. That was emphasised by Mr Kinnoek, who also said: "I am not going to pledge tax cuts in the lifetime of the Labour government. I am pledging that there will, year-on-year, be a much more effective commitment to the basic services."

## Smith's budget hits middle managers

Labour economists' calculation errors have thrown doubt on John Smith's tax plans, writes Anatole Kaletsky

The tax plans to be unveiled today in John Smith's shadow budget would result in Britain's middle classes paying far higher taxes than under the last Labour government, despite Labour's apparent assurances to the contrary.

Mr Smith's proposals would mean a junior manager on a salary of £30,000 paying £1,500 more in real terms than his counterpart in 1978-9. A married middle manager or professional on £50,000 would pay £6,000 more tax under Labour's present proposals than if the party had simply reintroduced the tax structure that obtained under the Callaghan government.

These previously unpublished calculations, which indicate a fiscal squeeze on the middle classes unprecedented in Britain except in wartime, result partly from an apparent error made by the Labour party's economists in calculating the levels at which to set its new higher-rate tax bands and partly from the impact of far higher national insurance contributions.

Mr Smith is expected to announce today that a married man would pay tax at 49 per cent on income above £29,000 under a Labour government. A 59 per cent band will start at about £40,000. In relation to average earnings, page 16, col 3

Economic view, page 19

Start of	50% band	60% band
1974-5	£26,614	£34,216
1978-9	£26,979	£36,965
1987-8	£25,144	£27,241
Labour's (1992-3)	£29,000	£40,000

Approximate bands.  
Historic figures adjusted for rise in average earnings to date, assume married man, no children with mortgage of twice salary up to tax relief limit and pension contributions of 8 per cent of gross salary.

## Eleven killed as helicopter dives into sea

By DAVID YOUNG

ELEVEN people died when a helicopter crashed in a snowstorm in the North Sea on Saturday night. Six survived. The bodies of six of the dead have been recovered, and a search was continuing for the others, who are believed to include one of the two pilots.

Attempts will be made today to lift the wreckage of the Super Puma helicopter, operated by Bristows, which crashed with 15 passengers and two crewmen on board. It was attempting to reach the Safe Supporter "hotel" from Shell's Cormorant Alpha platform in the Brent field.

One of the survivors, George Watson, described last night how he saw one of his colleagues swept to his death by huge waves. Mr Watson, aged 36, clung to the remains of a life-raft along with three other oil workers but could only watch as one lost his grip and was washed away.

Mr Watson was taken to hospital in Lerwick, Shetland. He said: "Seconds after we took off, the chopper banked sharply. All of a sud-

den we hit the water with a bang. The cabin filled up with water but I managed to climb out through a window. When I came up, I was about ten yards from the helicopter so I swam for it, but when I got there it started to move, so I made for the life-raft and hung on for dear life.

"The bottom of the life-raft had been ripped out by the force of the crash and all that was left was an inner-tube. There were four people holding on to start with but, after the waves kept battering it, one man got pushed away. Ten minutes later we were rescued by another helicopter. We saw him drifting away but there was nothing we could do for him."

Another survivor, David Davis, almost drowned as water poured into the helicopter. He was in the sea for about an hour before being rescued. He said: "I think I was about at the end of my rope when they got me up. Now I'm feeling great and glad I'm alive."

No time for mayday, page 2

## Fresh tremors scare ruined Turkish town

FROM ANDREW FINKEL IN ISTANBUL

TURKEY was struck by another earthquake early yesterday evening, two days after a tremor that killed more than 300. People in Erzurum, scene of Friday night's disaster, rushed into the streets in panic as the city was again plunged into darkness and rescue efforts briefly halted.

The epicentre of yesterday's quake — which at 6.4 on the Richter scale was slightly weaker than Friday's quake of 6.8 — was in Pulmur, near the city of Tunceli and about 45 miles south of Erzurum. According to Adnan Yildirim, the provincial governor, a great number of

houses were damaged and a boarding school collapsed. However, the school and many houses were vacated after Friday's quake. It was not clear if there were any casualties.

Tremors from yesterday's quake were felt throughout the east of Turkey, from the Black Sea down to Diyarbakir. Avalanches were blocking the roads leading out of Tunceli, according to the governor.

In Erzurum yesterday, security forces had to intervene in clashes over the distribution of food and blankets.

Hunt for survivors, page 10

## Allied armada masses in the Gulf

By MICHAEL EVANS  
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

AN IMPRESSIVE fleet of 20 American and three Royal Navy ships, headed by the USS America, is being assembled in the Gulf area, together with an aircraft strike force of about 200 combat planes.

The build-up of Western might in the Gulf is intended by United States, strongly backed by Britain, to increase the military pressure on Iraq over its continued refusal to obey UN Security Council orders.

The elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction and missile production lines is now viewed as a matter of such urgency that a decision is likely soon on whether to resort once again to military strikes. Military advisers in the US and Britain are reluctant to mount renewed strikes, but contingency plans have been drawn up and possible targets examined in the light of information supplied by the UN teams.

The USS America battle group is armed with an estimated 150 Tomahawk cruise missiles, which have a range of more than 800 miles. Any new military operation against Iraq is likely to rely heavily on these combat-proven missiles, as well as the squadrons of 20 F117A Stealth fighters based in Saudi Arabia.

Sufficient firepower is now in place to hit key Iraqi targets — but Washington and London are still hoping that the Iraqi leader will bow to diplomatic pressure.

A UN inspection team is due in Baghdad later this week to oversee the destruction of Scud ballistic missile equipment. If the Iraqis fail to cooperate, this could bring to a head the row between Iraq and the UN Security Council over Saddam's attempts to conceal the weapon systems that survived last year's bombings.

Warnings from Washington and London that military action is now a serious option have been backed up by sabre-rattling manoeuvres in the Gulf, aimed at reminding Saddam of the fire power available to strike at selected targets.

Continued on page 16, col 1

Leading article, page 13

## TODAY IN THE TIMES

### BIG DIPPER FUN TIME



Matthew Parris takes voters for a ride on the election Big Dipper. Life & Times, page 1

Peter Riddell insists the Tories need more than two election issues: they need a strategy. page 12

Ivor Crewe peruses the polls. page 9

Graham Paterson and Brian MacArthur on what the papers say. pages 7&9

Jill Sherman sees the cabinet leave town and the Whitehall mandarins take command. page 7

## SKIRTING THE ISSUE



Labour and the Tories do their bit to take fashion on the hustings as London hems come down at last. Page 3 and Life & Times, page 5

## DIRK BOGARDE



## JERICHO

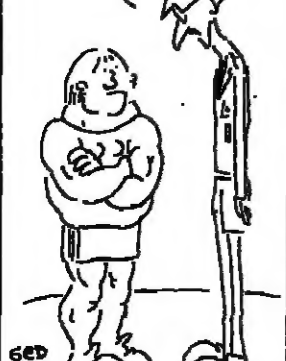
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PUBLISHED TODAY



## Macho riot squads bow to 'la difference'

FROM PHILIP JACOBSON IN PARIS

FRANCE'S last bastion of male supremacy, the police, is under threat after a government decision that women cannot legally be excluded from serving in the country's famously tough riot squads.



In the teeth of opposition from the macho ranks of the Compagnies Republiques de Securite (CRS), the authorities have agreed to let women compete with men for places in the units responsible for maintaining public order at demonstrations. The news has been greeted with dismay in CRS barracks all over France, prompting much talk of the "exclusively masculine qualities", notably physical strength, required for the job.

The European Court of Justice, which condemned France for discrimination against women in the police four years ago, does allow some functions, riot

control included, to be reserved for male officers. The CRS also requires every applicant to pass a series of gruelling physical tests that could still prove too much for some of the women wishing to join.

The CRS squads have acquired a reputation for muscular policing, especially in the cities. The sight of an operational group advancing in a wedge of dark-blue fatigues, bristling with riot-control gear, can be enough to put the wind up all but the most stout-hearted demonstrators.

It is said that a high proportion of CRS recruits are from the French countryside: big strong lads who follow orders well and do not mess about when it comes to a show of force. The readiness with which volleys of tear gas were fired into a large, entirely peaceful rally of lycée pupils in central Paris last year did nothing to diminish that reputation. Prudent journalists have learnt to slip

off their "press" armbands when things get tough. Would women officers really be prepared to go in as hard against schoolchildren or nurses? Could they cope with rioting French farmers or plunge into brawling crowds at a political rally? No way, say CRS traditionalists, fondly recalling the recruitment posters that used to announce: "The police, a job for men."

Yet for all their pistols, riot batons and tear-gas grenades, the CRS squads actually spend very little time enforcing order in the streets, being more commonly deployed on motorway patrols, beach surveillance and mountain rescue duties.

A measure of the weakness of the case against women may be that CRS administrators are now trotting out the familiar argument that admitting female officers would require heavy spending on separate changing rooms, showers and toilets.

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## Helideck staff saw aircraft plunge into North Sea during 220-yard flight in snow storm

## Crash left no time for pilot to give alert

By KERRY GILL

THE crash that killed 11 oil workers in the North Sea on Saturday night was so sudden that the pilot had no time to send a Mayday signal. The alarm was raised by helideck personnel waiting on the accommodation vessel Safe Supporter who saw the helicopter's lights disappear into the sea.

An investigation was launched by the transport department last night into one of the worst North Sea helicopter disasters, which happened as 15 men were being ferried 220 yards in a snow storm from Shell's Cormorant Alpha platform in the Brent field to their accommodation vessel, 100 miles northeast of Shetland.

Despite bitterly cold weather and rough seas, six men survived. Five of the 11 dead were still missing last night, believed drowned. One of those who died was Ian Hooker, the helicopter's copilot. Jonathan Shelborne, the pilot, survived. Today, a diving vessel will try to salvage the Super Puma, operated by Bristow.

Brothers Andrew and Gavin Innes, from Fife, were among survivors. Janet Innes, their mother, said: "It is just marvellous that both of them have been saved. It was the most awful thing for a mother to go through. I thought my boys were both dead. I was trying to comfort their wives as we sat by the telephone waiting for news. Our agony only ended at three o'clock in the morning, when we got a phone call saying both boys were alive, and had been rescued by different boats."

Rescuers eventually gave up hope of finding any of the missing men alive.

Tony Jones, Bristow's general manager in Scotland, said: "The aircraft has an outstanding safety record so far. It is a mystery as to why we have had this disaster."

Mr Jones said: "At this stage, we have no indication whatsoever that the cause of this accident can be attributed to technical failure. That is not to say a technical failure was not involved. Other possibilities included human error, he said."

Ronnie McDonald, of the offshore industry liaison committee, said that, as a mark of respect, men on Brent shifts stopped work.

Chris Fay, managing director of Shell UK, expressed sympathy for families of the dead, and said: "I want to pay tribute to all those involved in the search and rescue operation. From all accounts, they clearly did an outstanding and extremely professional job."

Dr Fay denied reports that the helicopter had been called in after the men refused to cross a telescopic gangway between the platform and the accommodation vessel because of the storm. He said that the gangway had not been in place for at least 72 hours before the accident. The aircraft had been on the first of three shuttle trips.

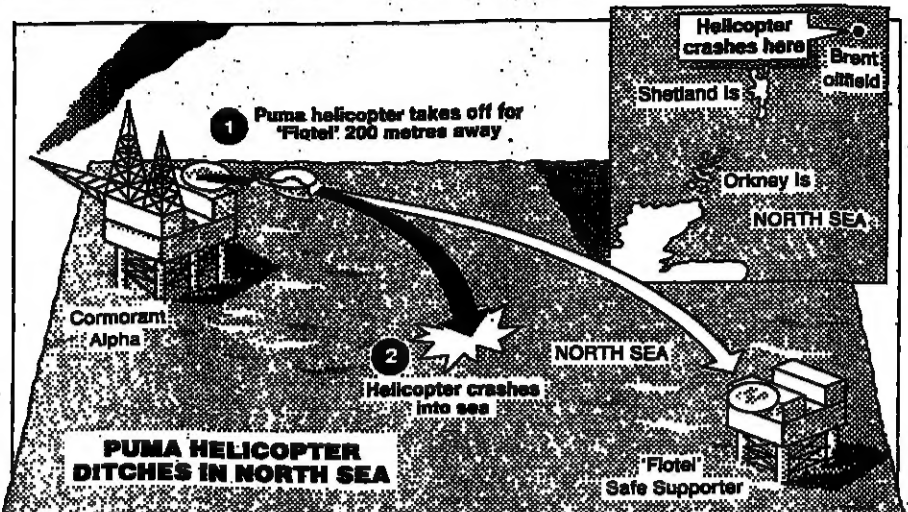
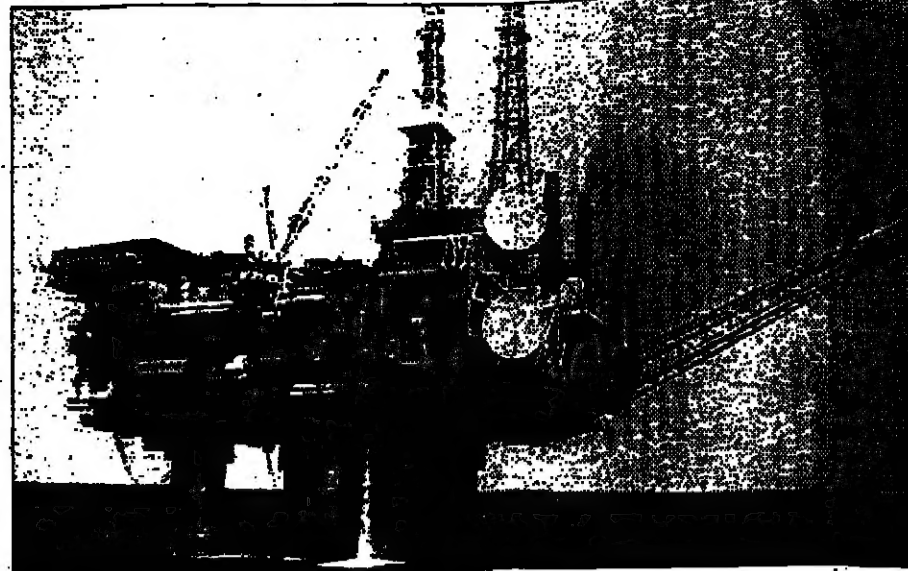
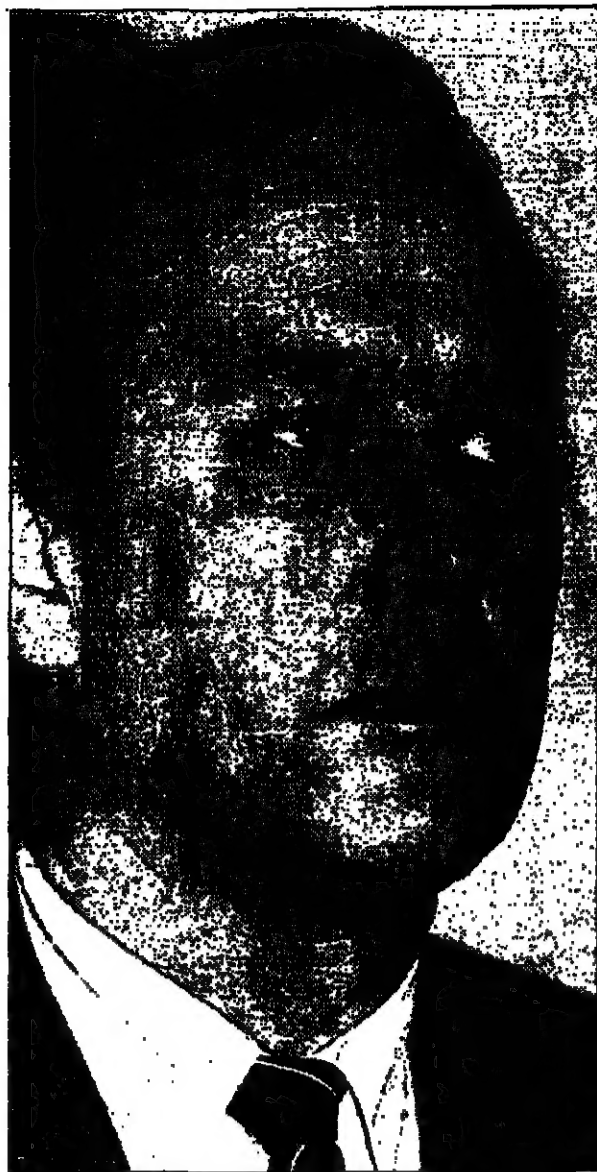
Frank Doran, Labour MP for Aberdeen South, said he wanted to know why the aircraft was flying in such winds.

"What concerns me about the initial reports was that the weather conditions in which they were flying were extreme," he said. "Despite the fact that the pilots are trained to fly in extreme conditions, unless the flight was absolutely necessary, I think we would want to question seriously why they were flying."

William Gibson, spokesman for the Manufacturing, Science and Finance Union, which has 3,000 members offshore, called for an improvement in helicopter flying regulations. "We want to know if the helicopter should have been flying in such terrible weather," he said.

The Civil Aviation Authority said that the helicopter, built by Aerospatiale, of France, would have been certificated to UK standards and there would have been tests for ditching.

Survivors speak, page 1



Tony Jones, left, of the Bristow helicopter company, the Cormorant Alpha platform, top, and the last flight of the Supa Puma helicopter

## Mechanical failure seen as likely cause

ACCIDENT investigators believe they will be able to pinpoint quickly the mechanical failure that last night seemed most likely to have caused the Bristow Super Puma helicopter to plunge into the North Sea with the loss of 11 lives.

Once the aircraft's cockpit voice recorder has been recovered, investigators will try to analyse any change in the sound of the aircraft's two engines, rotor blades and gearboxes and establish which part failed. The French-built helicopter was one of the first to be fitted with a new flight data recorder which will provide even more detailed information.

The 26 AS 332L helicopters in the Bristow North Sea fleet are carefully monitored and maintained. For more than three years, some have been flying with automatic equipment installed in engine, gearbox and rotor systems to keep a constant check for any sign of wear or mechanical damage.

Saturday's crash in the North Sea ended oil industry hopes that it had left behind a spate of helicopter disasters and highlights the need for universal application of new safety techniques, Harvey Elliott reports

Although the helicopter which crashed was not fitted with all the monitors — known as Health Usage and Monitoring Systems, or Hums — data from its five sister aircraft which have the systems led to regular changes of parts which had

been shown to be sensitive to the salt spray or abnormal stresses of the North Sea environment.

Research into Hums was first mooted in 1984 when the Civil Aviation Authority carried out a detailed review of helicopter airworthiness after a number of accidents in the North Sea. The research was made even more urgent after the crash of the Boeing Chinook in which 45 men died in November 1986, and a £1.6 million research fund was set up to produce a workable system which, it was hoped, would enable helicopter operators to spot potential faults.

Engineers quickly discovered, however, that the vibration associated with all helicopter operations made precise recordings almost impossible. Research has since led to Hums, which Bristow Helicopters began installing in a number of its aircraft on a trial basis in 1990. All 26 in

its North Sea fleet will be fitted with it later this summer.

When the trials began, Captain Alastair Gordon, Bristow's operations director, said: "It is important to stress that the use of these systems will complement, and not be used in place of the regular and rigorous maintenance and inspection procedures laid down by the CAA."

The information gleaned by the monitors, placed near the most sensitive working parts as well as in the oil sumps, where they can detect minute slivers of metal, is automatically processed in flight and fed into a ground-based computer for detailed analysis.

Although the team from the transport department's air accident investigation branch will concentrate on possible mechanical failure as the prime cause of the accident, they will also be studying the weather in the area.

The Puma, built by Aerospatiale of France, is designed mainly for military use and for operations in the toughest conditions. It is regarded by oil-rig workers as one of the safest used in the North Sea. Although the con-

ditions around the platforms were very bad, with winds gusting up to 60mph and with temperatures well below freezing, the Puma should still have been able to cope. Within minutes of the accident, other helicopters were searching for survivors.

The accident comes after the helicopter industry was beginning to think that it had overcome a spate of accidents in the North Sea. In May 1984, all 44 oil workers and three crew members were rescued after a Chinook plunged into the sea near the Cormorant Alpha platform. In November 1986, 45 men died in Britain's worst helicopter disaster when a Boeing Vertol 234 Chinook crashed into the sea near Sumburgh in the Shetlands.

Six oil workers were killed in July 1990 when their Sikorsky 561 crashed in the Brent field.

In November 1988, a similar Sikorsky was forced to ditch in rough seas 130 miles north of Aberdeen with 13 people on board. All were rescued. In August last year, three men were killed when their Bell 212 crashed while on maintenance work at a platform in the Ekofisk field.

## Board tries to close casino

By OUR CRIME CORRESPONDENT

BATTLE lines are being drawn for a fierce legal struggle over the future of some of the most profitable casinos in London after disclosures that the Gaming Board is trying to close the Ritz Club below the Ritz in Piccadilly. If the club loses its licence five others in the same £120 million group will also have to stop operating.

The Ritz Club is said to have one of the most successful gaming rooms outside Las Vegas. Inspectors from the board and members of Scotland Yard's clubs squad last summer raided five casinos, including the Ritz, owned by London Clubs.

The company, which was formed with City help after a management buyout, was about to start a Stock Exchange flotation. Next month, London magistrates

will be asked by the board to consider a number of grounds for cancellation and non-renewal of gaming licences and will decide whether London Clubs is "fit and proper" to run the Ritz.

If it is not, it will also lose licences for its other clubs, which are Les Ambassadeurs, the Palm Beach, the Rendezvous, the Sportsman and the Golden Nugget.

The case, which may prove a watershed in gaming law and casino control, is likely to take weeks to hear and any appeal might not be concluded before the autumn.

The board claims that if the licences were renewed, the casino would be managed by, or carried on for the benefit of, a person or persons (other than the applicant) who would themselves not be considered "fit and proper" per-

sons to hold such a licence. The grounds are believed to include allegations that there were insufficient checks on credit given to gamblers and that overseas members were assisted to evade their own country's exchange controls.

Yesterday, a spokesman for the company, which controls a quarter of the casinos in London, said: "We are disappointed the Gaming Board has lodged an objection. We will strongly contest their claims and do not believe there are any grounds to justify cancellation of the licences."

London Clubs International is the former gaming division of Grand Metropolitan. Its management, led by casino veteran Max Kingsley, bought it out in a complex £125 million deal three years ago.

## Suspects arrested in child abuse enquiry

POLICE investigating allegations of child abuse at children's homes in north Wales made a series of arrests yesterday.

A number of people were questioned at an incident room set up at Wrexham police station, Clwyd, and charges are expected to follow, possibly today. Police would not say how many arrests had been made.

Yesterday's operation was headed by Detective Superintendent Peter Ackley of Colwyn Bay, who has been in charge of the enquiry, which started last summer. It was launched after Clwyd county council called in the police to investigate allegations of abuse at the former Byn Eryn children's home in Wrexham, where three former members of staff were jailed on indecency charges.

In 1987 Mr Justice Mars Jones, sitting at Mold crown court, called for an enquiry after a social worker was jailed for gross indecency with a boy aged 16 who was in care. In 1990 a further internal enquiry was held after a social worker in charge of a children's home at Broughton was jailed for three and a half years for indecent assault on three children aged between 13 and 15 in his care. The internal enquiry was then widened to cover all homes in Clwyd.

## Doctor reaches crossword final

Alastair Sutherland, aged 56, a GP in Paisley who lives in Newton Mearns, Strathclyde, yesterday won the Scottish final of the Times/InterCity crossword championship at the Grosvenor hotel, Glasgow. He was competing for the first time and solved the four puzzles in an average time of 11 minutes each.

Therunner-up was Gudrun Collis, a solicitor from Devizes, Wiltshire, who regularly competes in Scotland, after a tie with Christopher Jones, aged 42, an educational writer from Edinburgh. Mr Sutherland and Miss Collis go through to the national final in London on July 26.

## Kasparov takes chess crown

Gary Kasparov, the Russian world champion, has triumphed at Linare in Spain in one of the strongest tournaments in the history of chess, winning by two points and defeating all players still left in the semi-final stage of the world championship.

Remaining undefeated, he beat Anatoly Karpov (Russia), Jan Timman (The Netherlands), Arur Yusupov (ex-USSR, now Germany) and Nigel Short (Britain) — the group from which his challenger for 1993 must emerge.

## Drunk dies

A man died yesterday hours after being arrested by police who found him lying drunk in an east London street. Brian McKerr, aged 46, of Hackney, east London, died at the intensive care unit of St Bartholomew's Hospital just before noon after he was taken from cells at City Road police station. It is believed that he was unconscious when he was taken into police custody.

## Peace gesture

Ireland fell silent for a minute yesterday after leaders of the four main churches called for a brief noon pause to pray for an end to sectarian violence. Prayers were said on both sides of the border for peace and reconciliation, and radio and television stations interrupted their transmissions. A series of vigils were staged and Northern Ireland's politicians were urged to work for a political settlement.

## Tobacco smugglers roll up the profits

By STEWART TENDLER, CRIME CORRESPONDENT

CUSTOMS investigators believe that tobacco smuggling is now more profitable than trafficking in cannabis and offers fewer risks. They fear that higher tobacco duties in the Budget could increase already rich pickings.

Customs officers and the tobacco industry forecast that, encouraged by the relaxation of internal EC frontiers, the smuggling trade will expand further and could be out of control within a year. The smugglers are cashing in on the fact that tobacco duty or tax in Britain is among the highest in the EC.

Smuggling centres on rolling tobacco, used to make handmade cigarettes, which is bought legally in mainland Europe and smuggled to Britain through the Channel

and east coast ferry ports. Last week, the Budget added 38p to the cost of a pouch. A 50g pouch of Old Blend, a leading handrolling tobacco, costs £6.14 in London and £1.87 in Brussels. Belgian tax is 81p; in Britain it is £4.64. Under present rules, a traveller can bring in to Britain a maximum of 400g bought from a shop in an EC country or 250g from a duty free shop.

Smugglers face a maximum of seven years' imprisonment or fines, whereas drug smugglers can be jailed for 14 years. In 1989-9, customs seized 15 tons of rolling tobacco and a series of seven-year prison sentences sent smugglers running for cover.

In the late 1980s, customs investigators halted the work

of five smuggling teams based in London and the South-East. Seizures fell to three tons in 1990-1. Now they are increasing, with several 200lb loads recently taken in the Dover area hidden in freight and 100lb seized at Felixstowe, Suffolk, last month.

Handrolled cigarettes are said to be a particularly British tradition and some customs officers have suggested that much of what is exported is promptly reimported by smugglers. The tobacco is hidden in recesses inside vehicles, such as the roof of a refrigerated lorry.

The tobacco is distributed through dealers on shop floors, public houses and clubs. Investigators suspect that the proceeds can be

used to invest in drug cargoes and, in the past, tobacco smugglers have been linked to cannabis and amphetamine cargoes. Investigators fear that the smuggling groups are getting ready to turn from tobacco to cigarettes next year, when internal frontier controls disappear and travellers have greater freedom to import goods.

Britain's tobacco industry is already saying that, unless taxation within the EC is harmonised, Britain will lose millions in revenue. They calculate that one load in a seven-ton truck, the largest that can be driven without a heavy goods vehicle licence, from Spain or Greece, could bring in over £80,000 in profit for the smugglers.

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**BY SARAH JANE CHECKLAND, SALEROOM CORRESPONDENT**

Ivan Berg, one of the register's managers, said: "The series in *The Times* was the inspiration of the whole thing. We had a meeting with the RAC after the articles, and it went on from there." The register is a private company supported by the RAC. It will be run by Mr Berg, a computer expert, and Nick Brittan, a car enthusiast; who was secretary of the guild of motoring writers for some years, and is organising a

The issued log book will be invalid if the log book's binding rivets are not original or have been tampered with.

the *Times* exposed reckless and unchecked claims about the authenticity of cars in auction catalogues, false market values established through the incorrect recording of an unsold auction car as sold and conflicts of interests between companies acting as auctioneers and dealers. Other "Spanish practices" condemned by local authority trading standards officers included auctioneers pretending that bids are being made as they run false bids up to the reserve.

Other criticised practices included the listing of cars which failed to sell as *auction*, but were traded off later as *auction "results"*, an auctioning system by means of which cars have no reserve when the vendor is at the auction protecting his property by bidding himself.

# Fashion

By LAZ SMITH  
FASHION EDITOR

FASHION became an election issue yesterday. But it had no more to do with the cat of Neil Kinnock's double-breasted waistcoat than the sense — or lack of it — displayed by politicians' wives.

Mark Fisher, the shadow minister, had a front row seat at Roland Klein show yesterday afternoon, and some of the top models exhibited in the Royal, Chelsea. In a policy meeting last year he had promised a Labour government would



**Campaigners who fought for real ale celebrate 21 years of success today, and plan to have a few more, writes David Young**

**Wine** corporate cohorts.

The Camra four, Michael Hardman and Jim Makinson, who now work in brewing; Bill Melly, who has moved to Sydney, and Graham Lees, *who now lives in Munich*, will celebrate today with a special beer from the small brewer **Batemans**, of Lincolnshire, as **Camra** announces new plans.

The fight for real ale has, in effect, been won. **Camra** estimates that there are 1,000 varieties of public house regularly served, each conditioned and bottled, which seemed to face extinction. It is the hardy keg beers that are now feared to find. If you want **Warme**, Red Barrel, you have to go to France or Spain. In beer sales overall, however, lager overhauled ale and stout in 1989, its strength being in the rapidly growing packaged sector.

Ian Loe, **Camra's** research manager, said: "Our campaign is entering a new phase, in which we hope to educate consumers to look for good quality in real beers rather than put up with some of the bland beers pushed out by the major brewers."

**BY DAVID YOUNG**

Caroline Anderson, of the authority, said: "This is a worse drought than 1976 because it has gone on longer."

At Mauldon's brewery in Sudbury, Suffolk, which supplies 100 local pubs, Peter Mauldon said: "It is certainly a problem. There have been no restrictions imposed, but we do use a large amount of water and, if there are to be restrictions, we would certainly be badly affected."

**BY SIMON TAIT**  
**ARTS CORRESPONDENT**

Mr McLaren, who has recorded an album of *Madame Butterfly* with a rhythm and blues backing, said: "I'm going to be as closely involved as I can. I might even have a go myself. Opera is the art form which is closest to the pop culture.



Up to eight operas will then be chosen and the au-



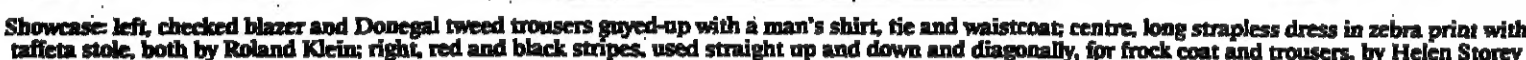
thors will be invited to London to work with a director, a conductor, a composer and singers from the Royal College of Music, under the guidance of Mr Pountney.

Three or four potential operas will emerge to be performed in April 1993 in London, and at a regional venue. Mr Bray said: "We are searching for musical and dramatic talent wherever it may lurk — in the electronic music studio of a school or college, behind the twin decks of a scratch desk or in the music of a flute and violin."

**BY RICHARD FORD**  
**HOME CORRESPONDENT**

The discovery that the timing devices had been "disposed of" came after Kenneth Baker asked the Court of Appeal in January to review the case of Berry, who has protested his innocence for nine years. Berry won an appeal, but the House of Lords reinstated the conviction.

At his trial, a scientific witness for the prosecution said the lack of built-in safety devices meant the timers were for terrorist use. Berry's lawyers want to challenge that evidence, but Norfolk police say the devices no longer exist.



**BY LIZ SMITH**  
**FASHION EDITOR**

**FASHION** became an election issue yesterday. But it had nothing to do with the cut of Neil Kinnock's double-breasted suits, nor the dress sense—or lack of it—displayed by politicians' wives.

Mark Fisher, the shadow arts minister, held a front row seat at the Roland Klein show yesterday and afterwards toured the London designer exhibition in the King's Road, Chelsea. In a policy document last year he had promised that a Labour government would invest

Under the Conservatives, the £6 billion textile and fashion industry, came under the department of trade and industry. Mr Fisher intends to claim fashion design as part of the arts, as in France. "The government invests £40,000 million on goods and services," he said. "It all has to be designed, yet nobody asks the departments concerned about their design policy."

Among the over-familiar gilt-buttoned suits in a clash of brightly metallic tweeds and leather at the Roland Klein show were fresh-looking trouser suits in a mix of checked and plain brown Donegal tweeds. Charcoal chalkstriped flannels, waistcoat and trousers were shown under handsome over-scaled jackets.

Hemlines were irrelevant at the Helen Storey show, since her leather and velvet coats are worn over gossamer lace bodysuits and thigh boots. Her colour theme was scarlet and black. Heavy metal zips on leather trousers, jackets and stretchy skirts were non-functional.

Norma Major, meanwhile, is hosting a reception for the British designers at Number 10 tonight.

**Looks, L&T section, page 5**

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Senior partners earn average £500,000

## Top City law firms beat the recession

By FRANCES GIBB, LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

CLEAR evidence that big City law firms are still reaping rich pickings is disclosed today in a survey that shows some senior partners earning an average of £500,000 a year and junior partners £200,000.

The figures, published in the magazine *Legal Business*, show that some firms are grossing annual fees of more than £100 million, with many more grossing £50 million. Overall, 34 City law firms gross fees in excess of £20 million.

The information, which has never been published in such detail before, comes after weeks of research by a team from the magazine, based on interviews with the partners in the law firms.

John Pritchard, editor in chief of *Legal Business*, says: "Going public on law firm finances, is, in my view, an important part of making the adjustment to the fact that the law is no longer a profession, but is now a business."

The fact that so many firms

were prepared to co-operate is "almost as interesting as the financial information itself", he says. "I think it is quite inconceivable that one could have obtained this degree of information from partners in law firms even a few years ago."

The figures show that business for firms in the top echelon and those in the middle-to-top tier is excellent.

● One could not have obtained this degree of information from law firm partners a few years ago ●

although the future for the medium-sized firms without the same capacity to invest is not looking so rosy. Taking the average profits per equity (non-salaried) partner, the survey shows the following figures for the top 10 firms: Slaughter and May

£377,000, Linklaters & Paines £349,000, Allen & Overy £344,000, Lovell White Durrant £321,000, Herfields £293,000, Simmons & Simmons £281,000, Clifford Chance £278,000, Norton Rose £265,000 and Nabarro Nathanson £178,000.

The survey emphasises that these average profits per partner are not the same as take-home pay, as partners are often expected to re-invest a share of their income back into the firm. For instance, at Cameron Mackay Hewitt, a senior equity partner takes home less than 20 per cent more than a junior equity partner. The rest of the money is re-invested in the business because of the massive funding now needed.

Although the big firms are doing well, Mr Pritchard says that the warning bells are ringing for second-tier firms, some of which cannot produce revenue and profits of the size expected.



Testing time: Danielle Ali, left, and Sylvia Marisa at Torriano school, northwest London, experimenting with First Sense, a computer-linked teaching aid that measures heat, light and sound and has won the National Power innovation category of the Design Council's annual awards

## Shot man 'refused to raise hands'

A man who had earlier opened fire with a rifle was asked repeatedly to raise his hands before being shot and wounded by police marksmen, Scotland Yard said yesterday. The man was hit in the arm but not seriously injured at the end of a four-hour siege in Dagenham, Essex, on Saturday night.

He had fired six or seven shots at random from the upstairs window of a terraced house, forcing unarmed officers and a woman to take cover behind a patrol car, which was hit by bullets.

The woman had returned to her home in Porter's Avenue after a weekend away to find the man there unexpectedly, armed and in an agitated state. The man, in his thirties, did not live there but the householder knew him, police said.

## Gum can help cut tooth decay

Chewing sugar-free gum after meals can reduce tooth decay, a Consumers' Association report published today says. It can help to remove plaque and food particles from teeth and stimulates the flow of saliva.

The benefits are unlikely to reduce damage to teeth significantly, however, and gum is more important as an alternative to sugary snack foods and sweets, the report says.

## Woman shot

A woman, found by ambulance officers with gunshot wounds at a block of flats in Peckham, south London, was in intensive care in Guy's hospital last night. The hospital said that Jane Menzies, aged 29, of Aspen House, had injuries at the base of her neck and that her condition was stable.

## 27 arrested

One officer was hurt and 27 people were arrested after police were pelted with missiles from a crowd of 200 at an illegal party in an empty industrial unit in Huntingdon, Cambridgeshire, on Saturday.

## Car plunge

Rahmah Mount, aged 38, of Moreton, Merseyside, and her five-month-old baby Christian Westby were seriously ill in hospital yesterday after their car left the road and fell 100ft into a ravine on the Horseshoe Pass near Llangollen, Cwyd.

## Crash kills two

Paul Dyke, aged 19, of Northallerton, and Jonathan Bell, aged 17, of Thirsk, died and three people were seriously injured when two cars collided head on at Thornton-le-Street, North Yorkshire.

## Bond winners

This week's premium bond winners are £100,000, number 17SP 364992, holder lives in Cumbria (value of holding, £165); £50,000, TF 751916, Argyll (£785); £25,000, 21DT 042039, Cheshire (£10,000).

## Solicitors pull out of legal aid schemes

By OUR LEGAL CORRESPONDENT

A SHARP decline in the numbers of solicitors working on duty rota schemes in courts and police stations is disclosed in Law Society evidence submitted to the Royal Commission on Criminal Justice today.

Between 1986 and 1992 the number of solicitors on the schemes dropped by about a third. In Cardiff the number fell over that period from 65 to 41 and in Northampton from 20 to 10.

The age of solicitors on the schemes is also causing concern, the society says. Although national figures are not available, in Birmingham only 4.5 per cent of duty solicitors are aged between 25 and 29. Statistically, the figure should be 16 per cent.

The society says that the decline has caused "grave concern" because it puts further pressure on solicitors still on the rotas by giving them too many duties and this prompts more to withdraw from the schemes. It says that for reasons largely outside its control, solicitors have to spend more time now on preparing rota cases.

Instead of the Lord Chancellor's plans for fixed fees, the society calls for an independent pay review body. That would advise on pay levels needed to ensure a steady supply of competent lawyers willing to do legal aid work.

## Coventry searches for heroic leader

By ROBIN YOUNG

THE search is on for someone named Christopher Davenport to lead a procession through Coventry that will celebrate the city's role in the outbreak of the English civil war 350 years ago.

To coincide with the opening of an exhibition of civil war arms and armour from the collection of the Royal Armouries, sponsored by *The Times*, Coventry is mounting the civic procession on June 6. It will commemorate events in 1642 when Christopher Davenport, Lord Mayor of Coventry, turned away King Charles I and held the town firm in support of Parliament.

Coventry suffered the first casualties of the civil war when a stray cannon shot from the King's side killed two women in Whitefriars, the building which is now the city museum and where the exhibition sponsored by *The Times* will be on show.

Today's civic leaders will take part in the parade, noted and with their regalia, but the organisers are also looking for namesakes or descendants of people who took part in the 1642 confrontation.

Christopher Davenport took the decisive stand of refusing the King permission to enter the town. A member of a prominent Coventry family, he was supported by townsfolk

who took to the walls wielding clubs.

His portrait hangs in Coventry's Herbert art gallery. Margaret Rylant, the city architect and museum curator, is in charge of the search for someone to represent him. "In the picture, which is thought to be a good contemporary likeness, he looks very stern, with piercing eyes," she said.

The exhibition sponsored by *The Times* is the first travelling display to be mounted by the Royal Armouries, England's oldest museum. Normally most of the 60 exhibits, including King Charles's suit of gilt armour, which is the finest Stuart armour ever made, are kept in the Tower of London.

Before going to Coventry on June 6 the travelling exhibition will be at the Town Docks Museum in Hull from April 11 until May 31. After its stay in Coventry until July 26 it will go to the Castle Museum in Nottingham from August 2 to September 20, and the Foregate Museum in Worcester from September 26 until January 3.

From January 9 to March 28 next year it will be at the Corinium Museum in Cirencester, Gloucestershire. All the towns to be visited played an important part in the early stages of the civil war.

# TEAM OF HOPE & GLORY



# THE FINALS

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2nd SEMI FINAL - LIVE - SUNDAY 22nd MARCH at 4.30am  
WORLD CUP FINAL - LIVE - WEDNESDAY 25th MARCH at 4.30am  
INSTALLATION WITHIN 48 HOURS\*

\*Available between February 21st and March 25th, 1992 from Colorvision, Comet, Currys, DER, Dixons, Focus, Granada, Martin Davies, Multibroadcast, Power Store, Radio Rentals, Rumbelows, Visionhire. Ask your local independent dealer or your local cable operator for availability.

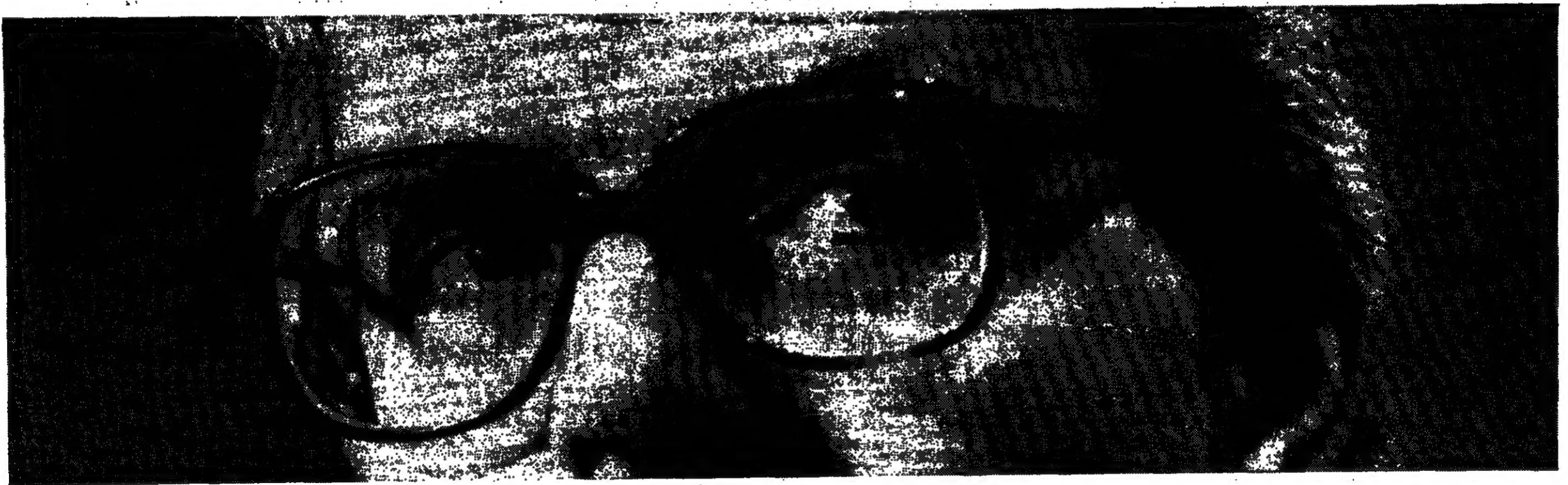
\*Installation subject to relevant permissions being obtained by customer. A decoder is required to view Sky Sports via a dish satellite system. Check Equipment availability with your local participating outlet or cable operator. 48 hours commences at time of purchase and excludes non-working days. Installation within 48 hours does not refer to subscription channels. Standard installation only.



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# This is a Major recession.




Every country in the EC experienced economic growth last year, with one exception. Britain.

Our economy shrank by 2.5%.

In fact, this country has been in recession for the past 20 months, the longest recession since the war.

John Major says the British recession is the result of a world recession.

Sorry, John, but that's a major distortion of the truth.

**Labour** 



Major find  
among  
in first 'tal

## Voters fail to swallow the party line

Committed voters are far from starry-eyed about the parties they support, according to the latest Mori poll for Times Newspapers. In particular, Tory supporters think little of their government's performance on law and order and education, and more than a quarter blame the government for the recession.

Nearly a fifth of Labour supporters believe that the trade unions would have too much power under a Labour government.

On the central issue of the campaign so far, when respondents were asked if they agreed or disagreed with the statement: "Most people will pay more in taxes if Labour wins the general election", 69 per cent agreed and 22 per cent disagreed. Those expecting to pay more included 51 per cent of Labour supporters.

Half those questioned agreed that the trade unions would have too much power under a Labour government, with 41 per cent disagreeing.

### Even committed voters are far from starry-eyed about their favoured politicians, Robin Oakley reports

Those who agreed included 19 per cent of Labour supporters and 43 per cent of trade unionists.

Forty-eight per cent agreed that the country could not afford Labour's spending plans. Among those intending to support Labour, 17 per cent agreed.

There was little comfort for the government in other areas. Despite ministerial emphasis on international factors, 56 per cent agreed that the government was responsible for the recession, against 37 per cent disagreeing. Those blaming the government included 26 per cent of Tory supporters. For all the government's denials, 46 per cent still believe that the Conservatives have plans to privatise the National Health Service if they win the election.

The Liberal Democrats appear to have made some progress by tackling the "wasted vote" issue head on. While 47 per cent agreed that a vote for the party was wasted, almost as many — 46 per cent — denied that was the case.

Asked about the government's performance over the past four or five years, only a third believed it had kept its promises, while more than half disagreed. Seventy-six per cent, including 63 per cent of Tory supporters, felt that the government had failed to improve law and order. Only 17 per cent believed it had.

More than two-thirds believed that the government had not improved the standard of education, with less than a fifth believing they had. Even on defence, 48 per

cent felt that the government had not improved Britain's defences, outnumbering those who believed they had by 8 per cent.

When people were asked which should be the highest priority, controlling inflation or achieving a low level of unemployment, 65 per cent went for curbing unemployment and only 30 per cent for controlling inflation.

Mori found that nearly a third of those questioned, 32 per cent, were floating voters. Five per cent were undecided, or said that they would not vote, and 27 per cent said that they might switch their vote. The floaters include 10 per cent of the electorate who are currently Conservative supporters, 9 per cent who are Labour supporters and 8 per cent who are Liberal Democrats.

© Mori/Times Newspapers. Mori interviewed a representative quota sample of 1,544 adults aged 18 plus face to face on March 11-12.

Ivor Crewe, page 9

## Spending wins out over tax cuts

### Undecided voters believe that Labour would raise their taxes, but it does not worry them, John Curtice reports

miners which party, if any, they will support.

Whether they think inflation would rise under Labour does matter. Among those who have switched to the Conservatives in the past week, 76 per cent believe that inflation would rise under Labour. Only 18 per cent of Labour switchers believe that.

Many swing voters have doubts about Labour's ability to manage the economy. Although 58 per cent of Conservative switchers feel that the economy has worsened over the past 12 months, and only 41 per cent felt that the Budget was good for Britain, 86 per cent say that the Tories would handle the economy best.

On taxation, the picture is very different. True, 63 per cent of those switching to the Conservatives think Labour

would increase the basic rate of income tax, but so do 63 per cent of those switching to Labour. Mr Patten's taxation allegation seems not to be working because many swing voters accept higher taxes as the price for increased public spending. Seventy-three per cent of Labour swing voters said that they wanted higher spending rather than tax cuts.

Labour's image on health and unemployment is a strong electoral magnet. Seventy-seven per cent of Labour switchers said Labour had the best policy on unemployment, 78 per cent on health.

Neil Kinnock's leadership is not an asset for Labour. Just 46 per cent of Labour switchers feel that he would be the most capable prime

minister, while John Major scores 79 per cent among Conservative switchers, and Paddy Ashdown scores 68 per cent among those switching to the Lib Dems.

In the pre-Budget interview, Mori found that 29 per cent of Conservative supporters might change their minds, but only 21 per cent of Labour voters. The Tories have not closed this gap in the past week.

Mori re-interviewed by phone between the March 12-14 1,072 voters who, before Budget day did not have a party preference or who said they might change their minds. Nine hundred and thirty-eight had previously been interviewed face-to-face between the March 5-9, 134 in Mori omnibus surveys conducted between October 1991 and February 1992. The data have been weighted to match the population profile of all swing voters on March 5-9.

John Curtice is senior lecturer in politics at Strathclyde University.

## Ashdown sets PR at head of demands

BY SHEILA GUNN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

PADDY Ashdown insisted yesterday that the Liberal Democrats would make an agreement on constitutional reform a precondition for their support of a minority government.

He brushed aside John Major's sharp rejection of a post-election deal and will launch the party's 15,000-word manifesto today, setting out the pledge to introduce proportional representation together with six priorities.

The document is intended to promote the Liberal Democrats as the alternative to Labour for disenchanted Tory voters and form the basis of any negotiations with other parties in a hung parliament.

Each commitment will be accompanied by a balance sheet with pluses and minuses, giving the cost and benefit of every policy. The priorities will be: a £6 billion economic package including both public investment and private enterprise; cleaning up the environment; improving education and training; investing in health, law and order and housing; closer relations with Europe; constitutional reform.

The manifesto closes with the party's pledge: "Our aim will be the creation of stable government for a whole parliament and a more democratic basis for future elections. The Liberal Democrats will neither support nor participate in a government that turns its back on reform. Any minority government that tries to play games with the constitution in order to cling to power, promoting instability and dodging the moral challenge of democracy, will have to contend with us."

A senior party adviser insisted that the wording did not in any way water down the party's commitment to the introduction of PR before

supporting either a Conservative or Labour minority. Although the leadership still prefers the single transferable vote system of PR, he said that consideration of other methods, such as the additional member system used in Germany, could not be ruled out.

Mr Ashdown predicted at a rally of candidates in London yesterday that the election could mark a moment in history when Britain struck out in a new direction.

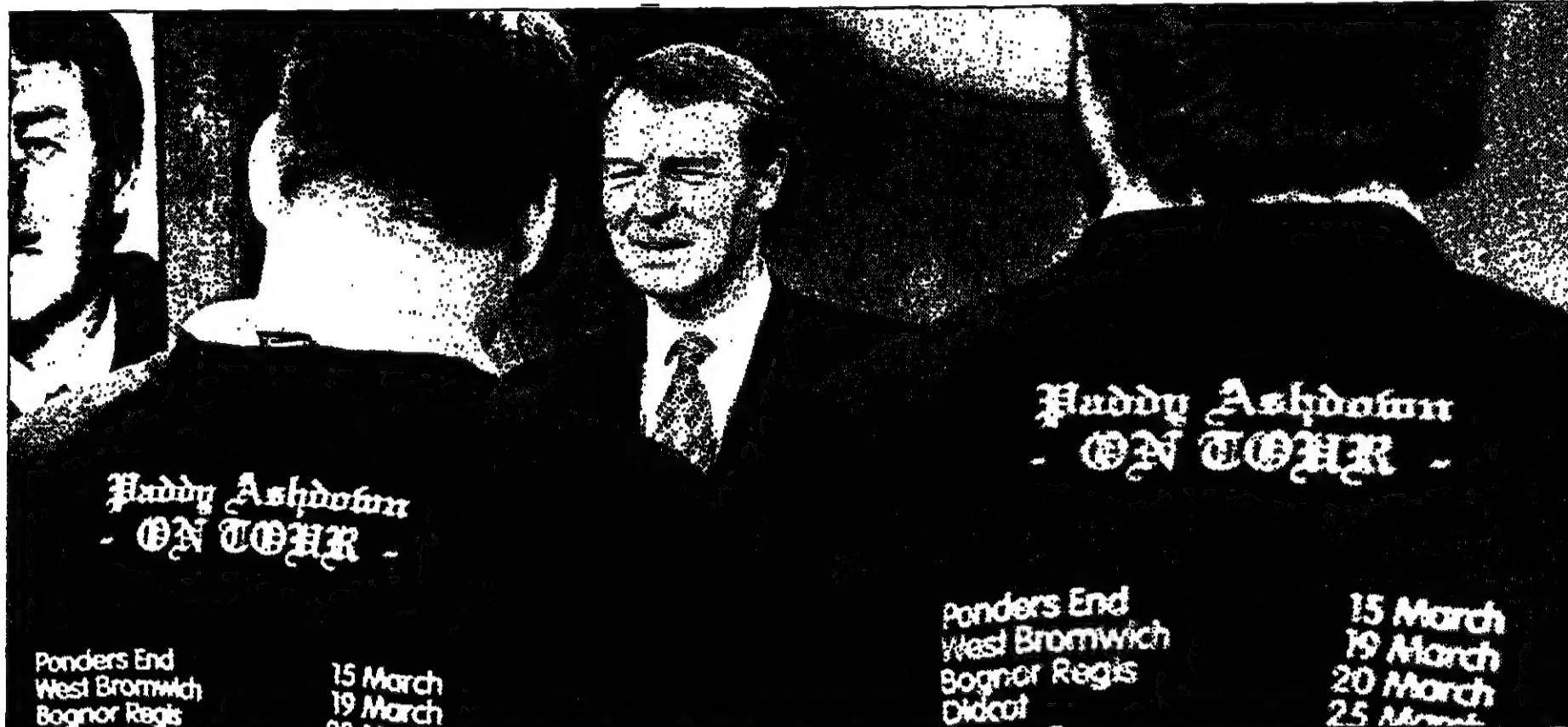
"On the answers given on April 9 will depend whether the new century marks a new beginning for Britain, or whether this country's long sojourn in the shadows of failure is doomed to continue."

After he entered the hall to the first, thumping rendition of the campaign theme music, nicknamed *Paddy's Theme*, Mr Ashdown swiftly took on Mr Major for condemning PR: "A vote for Mr Major is a vote against reform, against a modern system of democracy and in favour of a return to the constitutional dark ages."

He suggested that the prime minister talk to the German chancellor Helmut Kohl, or the leaders of other European countries with PR, if he believed that such a voting system meant indecisive and unsuccessful government. The Tory party chairman, Chris Patten, Mr Ashdown added, had also advocated electoral reform in the past.

He said that the verdict on the Conservatives' record had been shared down. Interest rates up and sterling down. Norman Lamont's Budget was an "extraordinarily stupid" way of helping those who were worse off, he added.

"He hopes that if he gives each of us £100, except those who are unemployed, we'll get so hysterically happy on



Paddy is their darling: staunch supporters, proudly displaying the dates of his forthcoming tour of duty, greet Mr Ashdown at a rally in London yesterday

30p per day that it will wipe the last 13 years from our minds."

Charles Kennedy, the Liberal Democrats' president, said: "This is a government that has about it a stench of decay and the likelihood of failure on April 9."

In spite of the home performances, unemployment and plight of public services, there was no head of steam for Labour. "Quite clearly it is all there to play for. That is the best and most honest assessment one can make. While others seem to have stalled, the momentum is potentially there to move our way."

Mr Kennedy said the government, and Mr Major personally, were looking "very rattled", especially over the idea of a televised debate between the three party leaders.

"If the prime minister of the day actually thinks that prime minister's question time constitutes a rational searching exposition of the issues before this election, it proves that after 13 years in that hermetically sealed unrepresentative place called the House of Commons the prime minister and his colleagues are way out of touch."

## Kinnock defends policy U-turns

BY JILL SHERMAN, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

NEIL Kinnock yesterday defended his right to change his mind and made no apologies for his party's U-turns on defence and the European Community in the last ten years.

On the *Frost on Sunday* programme on TV-am, Mr Kinnock, quoting the economist John Maynard Keynes said: "When I discover I am in error, I change my mind. What do you do?" He admitted there had been several policy changes since he became leader of the party, "changes which are related to

the realities in which our country lives and must face in the future."

Mr Kinnock's determination to fashion the Labour party to his own design is spelt out in a collection of the speeches he has delivered since he took over as leader in 1983 which were published yesterday. The party's gradual shift on defence, the common market, trade unionism and nationalisation are charted in his 11 conference speeches, since becoming leader. Starting with his address at the party conference

in Brighton in October 1983 the night he was elected leader, and concluding with last year's conference speech, the book illustrates how Mr Kinnock took on the hard left, and moderated his party's views on unilateral nuclear disarmament, entry into the common market and trade union law.

During the election campaign the Tory party is expected to challenge Mr Kinnock on his apparent U-turns in the last two parliaments. Peter Kellner, political analyst, who selected the

speeches, says that part of Mr Kinnock's strength as an orator comes from his ability to catch the mood of his audience and adapt or add to his speech accordingly.

Kellner cites Mr Kinnock's speech to the 1985 party conference in Bournemouth when Militant members, led by Derek Hatton, were effectively controlling Liverpool city council. "I'll tell you what happens with impossible promises. You start with far-fetched resolutions... and you end with the grotesque chaos of a Labour council — a Labour council — hiring taxis to scuttle around a city handing out redundancy notices to its own workers."

With one stroke, Mr Kinnock made clear that he would have no truck with the Militant Tendency. Within two days he had overtaken Margaret Thatcher for the first time as the person elected thought would make the best prime minister.

Kellner also draws attention to the shifts on defence. Between 1987 and 1989 the party drew up a new defence policy, abandoning its rigid line on unilateral nuclear disarmament. Mr Kinnock, formerly a member of CND, paved the way in his 1988 conference speech for the switch to multilateralism. "When we conclude our review next year and when we resolve our policy for fighting the next general election, that policy must be serious about nuclear disarmament, serious about defence."

In April 1989 Mr Kinnock told the national executive that he would not go on making the tactical argument for nuclear defence "without getting anything in return". In October he defended the multilateralist argument at the party conference. "A new dual-track approach towards security is being built not a bit like the old one. On it the efforts for negotiated disarmament are running alongside economic engagement."

By last year's conference speech Kinnock no longer had to justify possession of the bomb. "We must be part of the new negotiations on verifiable disarmament. We should be doing everything in our powers to halt and reverse proliferation, and to secure agreements to end testing of nuclear devices."

Thorns & Ross, Neil Kinnock: Speeches 1983-1991. Hutchinson, £9.99.

## Tories veto 'biased' BBC panel

The BBC has been forced to change its plans to produce a series of panel interviews with politicians because the Conservative party refused to take part in them, alleging political bias in the make-up of the panel (Alison Roberts writes).

Jack Cunningham, Labour's campaign co-ordinator, said that the BBC was being subjected to "intolerable pressure" from the Tories and that the corporation's submission compromised its independence. A panel of five economists was to have questioned the prospective Chancellors and trade and industry secretaries from each party on special editions of BBC's *The Money Programme*. The BBC said the panelists had been chosen for their economic knowledge and experience rather than their political sympathies. "Labour and the Liberal Democrats had agreed to take part, but the Conservatives said they were not prepared to take part because they said the panel selected was not politically balanced," a spokesman said. The panel asked to participate were: Martin Taylor, vice-chairman of Hanson; David Sainsbury, deputy chairman of Sainsbury's; Janet Cohen, corporate finance director of Charterhouse Bank; Gavin Laird, general secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union; and Chris Haskins, chairman of Northern Foods.

### Family likeness

The great niece of the former prime minister Clement Attlee will be contesting the Windsor and Maidenhead seat for Labour in the general election. Cath Attlee, aged 35, of Wembley, north London, will have to reverse a Tory majority of more than 15,000. True to the principles of her great uncle, she intends to fight on a platform of preserving the NHS and investing in industry.

### First and last

Gary Waller, the Tory MP for Keighley, West Yorks, will take the last action of any MP before Parliament is dissolved when he presents a petition on cold-weather payments for pensioners today. He was the first member to put a parliamentary question after the last general election in 1987.

## Prime minister rules out deal in hung parliament

AN OUTRIGHT condemnation of proportional representation yesterday by the prime minister appeared to rule out any deal between Conservatives and Liberal Democrats in the hung parliament which opinion polls continue to suggest is a likely election outcome.

Insisting that the Tories would win a clear majority, John Major said: "I think it leads to weak government and if one looks at a number of countries overseas that have proportional representation you can see what that weak government means. If you talk to the politicians they will tell you that they wished they didn't have proportional representation."

Mr Major, interviewed on Radio 4's *The World This Week*, was equally firm in rejecting Scottish devolution, saying that the prize of a Scottish assembly had been debated, but not the price that the whole United Kingdom would pay for it. "Devolution cannot just be a bolt-on extra for Scotland, it wouldn't work that way. If there were devolution it would open up whole constitutional questions at Westminster, very serious ones. It would mean changes, very

John Major is adamant that there will be no pact with the Lib Dems, Robin Oakley writes

probably, in Scottish representation at Westminster. It would mean a two-tier level of MPs, MPs from Scotland, not able to vote on some issues at Westminster because those issues as far as Scotland was concerned were entirely dealt with in a Scottish assembly. No government could be sure of a majority."

The prime minister's comments followed the uncompromising line he adopted in his weekend speech to the Conservative central council in Torquay, launching the Tory campaign. Saying that he felt passionately about the cohesion of Britain, Mr Major told his party activists that it would be "hugely damaging" to go down a route that could lead to the break-up of the country. "What began as a dalliance with devolution could end as the disaster of separation," he pledged in his keynote

speech to maintain the struggle to achieve zero inflation, to drive on with Conservative reforms in health and education and to bury the divisions in Britain.

Saying that Labour saw people as pawns while the Tories saw them as partners, Mr Major promised that the next Tory government would "go back to basics" in education and shake up the "arrogant bureaucracy" in local government.

He said Labour was now intent on taxing poor as well as rich, ensuring that people would not enjoy the fruits of their labours however well the country performed. "Labour talks of time for a change. There would be change, all right, short change."

He declared that the present voting system had served Britain well over the years. "It has given us strong government, capable of difficult decisions at difficult times. I have no intention of changing it. There is no need. Those who call for such changes should examine their motives. There will be no deals with those opportunists who stand for nothing except their own political self-interest."



Harriet Harman, shadow health spokeswoman, at yesterday's rally

## Hattersley vows to redistribute wealth

A LABOUR government would redistribute money from the rich to the poor, Roy Hattersley pledged yesterday (Robert Morgan writes).

Labour's deputy leader told a London rally that Labour's mission was to reverse the Tory practice of taking from the poor to give to the rich. He declared: "The noble idea of a more equal society has

inspired us for one hundred years. Let no one doubt that the ideal of great equality inspires us still. The society we mean to build is the equal society — the free society that equality brings."

The Tories, he said, talked of freedom as if it were their own invention. For them freedom was the right of the rich and the powerful to impose

their will on the poor and the weak. "Freedom for them is an autocratic prime minister and an authoritarian government riding roughshod over a powerless people."

He attacked the Tories over their health and education policies and continued: "The great divide between the parties has neither narrowed nor changed."



## Major finds himself among friends in first 'talkabout'

By NICHOLAS WOOD, POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE prime minister used the first of his stage-managed meet-the-people sessions yesterday to throw a personal challenge to Neil Kinnock.

Referring to Mr Kinnock's claim in an interview yesterday that the country would have been better off if it had elected a Labour government in 1983, Mr Major said it was time the real Mr Kinnock stood up to be counted.

At an informal meeting with selected Tory supporters in his Huntingdon constituency, Mr Major recalled that at that time Labour was still in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament.

"They wanted to close down our US bases and send our allies home. If that had happened I wonder if we would have had cruise missiles and Russians still sitting in East Germany rather than the dramatic changes we have seen in the last few years."

In 1983, Labour had wanted to come out of the European Community. This would have been a "disaster" for business which did so much trade with Europe.

"It's a very curious thing for Neil Kinnock to say," Mr Major said. "Is it not curious that he is not publicly calling for those policies today... I hope we will find out which Mr Kinnock he is asking us to vote for: Mr Kinnock 1983-style or the new-style red rose version of the Nineties."

The prime minister spent about 50 minutes in a school hall in the village of Sawtry, just off the A1, fielding questions from an invited audience of 250 Conservative supporters.

The event, which took place under the glare of television lights, was the first of a series of about six "Meet John Major" campaign innovations designed to highlight the prime minister's image as a man of the people.

Invitations had been issued

by Conservative Central Office to members of the local Huntingdon Tory party. They, in turn, had been told they could bring along friends or relatives. Theoretically, this left some scope for interlopers but a shirt-sleeved Mr Major was listened to in friendly and respectful silence as he dealt with questions ranging across the recession, the environment, planning, GP fund-holding, education and cricket.

Perched on a wooden bar stool hauled in from London, Mr Major, no stranger to political balancing acts, sounded an up-beat note on the economy.

He argued that only the uncertainty generated by the election was holding back the recovery and once the Conservatives were safely installed in power the economy would begin to grow again.

Selecting his own questions from his audience seated on plastic grey and orange chairs five-deep in a circle around him, the prime minister said that there was great pent-up demand in the economy.

Cuts in mortgage rates were leaving more money in people's pockets and the public spending increases that would take effect next month were "catalysts for recovery". The debt overhang from the credit boom was "fading" and confidence was beginning to return.

"There are quite a few motors moving in the direction of recovery but we have to watch what happens in the past. We have to watch over the economy out of impatience or frustration."

"We used to call it stop-go. This time when we go I want to keep going and not stop. That's why we have been cautious about the way we come out of this recession. But I believe we have got the balance right."

"What is stopping the recovery? I believe what's stopping it is waiting for the result of the general election to make sure there is a Conservative government back in power on April 9. Some of the concern in the markets is that they're waiting for the result on April 9."

Mr Major drew laughter from his predominantly middle-aged and respectfully dressed audience when he spoke of his interest in cleaning up the environment.

He hoped the day would come when he could fish for salmon and trout from the terrace of the House of Commons. "I hope to take my fishing rod and fish after prime minister's questions, perhaps. It's better than fishing during it."

Mr Major was given a standing ovation before and after his appearance at what one senior Tory election planner called a "people conference" in contrast to the morning press conferences that will signal the start of the campaign proper. The reaction of his listeners left the assembled media in no doubt that Mr Major was among friends.

The question and answer session was modelled on the prime minister's chat with young soldiers in the Saudi Arabian desert before the Gulf war and was designed to show his conversational manner at its best.

The only props used were the wooden bar stools and a blue rug with a white fringe. Mr Major, the bar stool and the rug will be seen again at five or six more such events around the country, which are planned to take place before the end of the campaign.

These more relaxed sessions will be in addition to the more familiar campaign rallies at which the Prime Minister will make his keynote speeches.

## The men who would be giantkillers



Fayre contest? Hugh Seckelmann canvassing for votes in Huntingdon High Street yesterday. "The buck stops with John Major," he said.

## Marathon man aims to outpace Kinnock

By TIM JONES

MOST men and women can recognise an elephant when it is parked on their doorstep, but Peter Bone is different: he has a dream.

It is simply to overturn a Labour majority of 22,947 and become the Conservative MP for Iswyn. The present incumbent, Neil Kinnock, has a bigger dream, for he wishes to broaden his balliwick to include the whole of Great Britain.

As he jogs through the streets of the constituency in preparation for the London Marathon, Peter Bone has discovered he has more than the Kinnock factor to contend with. A colossus from the Conservative past is casting a shadow over his campaign.

"It is not as bad as in Ireland, but older people in particular tell me they could never vote for me because Winston Churchill sent the troops to Merthyr Tydfil during the General Strike."

Although the pits which formed the backbone of the community have gone, mistrust of the Tories is deeply ingrained.

Mr Bone believes that without such adherence to the past Iswyn would be a natural Tory seat. "The people here have taken full opportunity to benefit from Conservative policies. They have bought their council houses, invested in public sector shares, used redundancy money to establish small businesses and welcomed the new jobs being created with the help of government money. They also fought successfully to establish the first opt-out school in Wales."

"Somewhere there is the magic key to unlock their minds and I am searching for it. But it is very hard to find."

In spite of the admission by Douglas Thomas, vice-chairman of the local Conservative Association, that it would take a mass conversion of



Going the distance: Mr Bone training yesterday

biblical proportions to win the seat, Mr Bone says he is treating it as a marginal.

Sporting his "Vote Bone" sweatshirt, he pounds the valley housing estates where rejection is usually polite. Undeterred by historical precedents, Mr Bone rejects the suggestion that as a true blue David, he is going to receive a terrible thumping from the local Goliath.

Mr Bone joined the Conservative party when he was 15. While living in Southend, where he was a borough councillor and press secretary to Paul Channon MP, he built up an electronics business and moved to larger premises in Newport, Gwent. He now runs a business selling houses in Florida to Britons.

At the last election 5,954 people in Iswyn voted for the Conservative party which now has about 100 paid-up members, most of them small

## Sales manager tells Major supporters it's time to change

By DAVID YOUNG

THEY both moved into the area from London, one from the south the other from the north, they both have election agents named Brown and they are both confident that they will win on April 9.

One has more to lose than the other. For John Major defeat would mean the end of his political career. For Hugh Seckelmann victory would etch his name on the hearts of every Labour supporter in the land.

Over the weekend, as John Major was followed everywhere by television cameras and photographers, Hugh Seckelmann was launching the Labour campaign in Huntingdon at a jumble sale in the market town's Commemoration Hall. The arrival of Screaming Lord Sutch next weekend to begin his campaign for the Monster Raving Loony Party will create more media attention.

Mr Seckelmann hopes to overturn the country's largest Tory majority and do what no other political candidate has done before, unseat a sitting prime minister.

Mr Seckelmann, aged 28, a sales manager for a local plastics company, says that he is not standing just to make up the numbers. He feels that the people of Huntingdon are as ready for a change as many others claim to be and that Labour's poor showing at the last election — they came third with 14 per cent of the poll, compared with John Major's 63.6 per cent and the SDP-Alliance's 21.5 per cent — is no indication of the area's feelings now.

He moved to Huntingdon from Tottenham more than four years ago, just as his local MP was starting his rise through the cabinet ranks. A graduate in Russian from the School of Slavonic Studies in London, Mr Seckelmann, who is single, became a member of the local Labour party and

was elected to the Huntingdon district council.

He says that attitudes have hardened against the Conservatives in recent years. "We have a homelessness problem. The district council has £23 million in its housing fund from the sale of council houses, but no new houses are being built. Unemployment is also rising."

"People know that their local MP has been personally responsible for creating many of these problems. The fact that he is prime minister won't help him. People know that the buck has to stop with him."

Over the past week the Huntingdon Citizens' Advice Bureau has seen a steady queue of people calling in for counselling about debt, and the Huntingdon Rail Users Group has rejected Mr Major's rail charter.

Local publicans have been to see Mr Major to complain that new government rules have led to closures and vastly increased rents being imposed by the brewers.

Mr Major is generally regarded as a good constituency MP and the role his wife plays in local organisations has helped him to build up a strong local following in his largely rural constituency. However, should Mr Major's 27,000 majority evaporate he could always follow his father and run off to the circus to start a new career. The Huntingdon State Circus is pitching its big top this week conveniently within sight of the Major's home in Great Stukeley village.

Huntingdon 1987 General Election:  
John Major (C) 40,530 (63.6%); A. J. Nicholson (SDP/All) 13,486 (21.1%); D. M. Brown (Lab) 8,883 (13.9%); B. Lavin (Grn) 874 (1.4%). Conservative majority 27,044, 42.4%. Turnout 74 per cent. Electorate 86,186.

## How Britain keeps ticking over while politicians do battle

Mandarins take over the reins of the nation as the cabinet heads for the country. Jill Sherman writes

AS THE prime minister and his cabinet head off to campaign around the country for a fourth Tory term, Whitehall's mandarins will assume what some regard as their rightful place.

Sir Robin Butler, cabinet secretary, will mastermind a group of permanent secretaries who will effectively take charge of the day-to-day running of the country's business.

While John Major is still technically prime minister and the cabinet are still serving ministers until a new government assumes office, civil servants will take over most of the work during the three and a half weeks of the general election campaign.



Butler: virtually in charge of affairs

There will no longer be any MPs, although the former members will be paid until polling day. Members seeking re-election are merely candidates with no special rights or privileges and will not be allowed into the Palace of Westminster even to collect their mail.

Payment of the MPs' £10,786 "living away from home" allowance is stopped, and their free travel rights will be limited to one warrant from Westminster to their constituency.

Ministers remain in post until a new government is appointed but lead double lives, surrendering perks when electioneering but allowed to use official cars for Whitehall duties. They keep their departmental offices and continue to make executive decisions, subject to a convention that they should not use their powers for political advantage.

Several other people will be on hand should events in Iraq or Libya escalate. Stephen Wall, John Major's foreign policy adviser, will be in constant touch with the prime minister and Sir David Hannay, British ambassador to the UN, will be closely involved in any international events.

Sir John Kerr, Britain's representative to the European Commission, will handle affairs in this area.

ical advantage. New spending programmes cannot be announced, although ministers can promise as Tory politicians what they will do if Mr Major wins.

The red boxes of ministerial homework will still circulate but will be lighter because they will contain no new policy initiatives.

Each department has to arrange for a minister to be available for urgent matters at all times, at least by telephone. Secretaries of state will be called in should there be any significant international or domestic event such as a terrorist attack while Gus O'Donnell, the prime minister's press secretary, will be in daily contact with Mr Major.

Senior civil servants will work closely with any ministers not standing at the next election such as John Wakeham, the energy secretary, Alan Clark, the defence minister and peers who hold ministerial positions. These include Lord Caidness, the Foreign Office minister and Earl Ferrers, a Home Office minister.

Peers may continue to use the Palace of Westminster, but without their £29 daily subsistence allowance. Lord Caidness, who will be travelling to Helsinki for European security talks and to Luxembourg for the Foreign Affairs Council, said yesterday he would be working with exactly the same team that he dealt with during the 1987 election campaign.

Then he was working at the Home Office with Douglas Hurd as home secretary and Edward Biekham. Mr Hurd's private secretary, who moved to the Foreign Office with him.

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Sir John Kerr, Britain's representative to the European Commission, will handle affairs in this area.

## Sentencing guidelines demanded

By RICHARD FORD  
HOME CORRESPONDENT

A COUNCIL to set guidelines for prison sentences should be set up by the next government, according to a report by the Penal Affairs Consortium published today.

The guidelines would help magistrates and judges to be more consistent when sentencing offenders, the report says. The council would provide the courts with ceilings for offences and outline the weight to be attached to aggravating and mitigating circumstances. It would promote the use of non-custodial, community-based penalties.

Labour and the Liberal Democrats plan to create an organisation to review sentencing and produce guidelines for cases. At present, the Court of Appeal produces guideline judgments for some serious cases, but the two opposition parties want guidelines which would cover minor offences.

The consortium says that its proposals would help to cut the prison population, which stood at 47,800 last week.

VOX POP by Graham Paterson

## A popular misconception of democracy

Just four days after John Major went to the Queen to request the dissolution of Parliament the editors of the Sunday tabloid newspapers already feel their readers are fed up with the general election. The front pages of the three biggest-selling Sundays, the *News of the World*, *Sunday Mirror* and *The People*, contrived to carry not a single word about the forthcoming contest.

News of the six opinion polls carried out for their heavyweight Sunday sisters was confined to brief reports on page two, in the *News of the World* headlined "What a lot of POLLS".

The *Sunday Sport* (which sells nearly as many copies as the *Independent on Sunday*) went one better. It carried not a single word about the election.

Instead the tabloids opted for the standard fare of royalty and yet more roy-

alty. The *Mirror* (circulation 2.7 million) featured "Harry Pank" at Sandringham, an unsurprising tale of harmless below-stairs gossip, while the *News of the World* (4.8 million) gloried in American press reports of a forthcoming biography of the Princess of Wales by Lady Colin Campbell. For good measure the paper claimed that the Queen has stepped in to heal a supposed rift between the Duke and Duchess of York. The *People* (2.1 million), once just famous for its campaigning and investigation, led with a "mercy mission" by a star of the soap opera *EastEnders* to save "tragic chimps" used by Spanish beach photographers.

The political stories on the inside pages offered little fresh. An interview with Neil Kinnock in the *Sunday Mirror* contained nothing new, except that the Kinnocks' cats, Fluffy and

Sniffy, will be the two Tories he will, if elected, allow to stay at No 10. "All cats are Tory anarchists," he laughed.

There was a distinct sense of the mass circulation Sundays being cut off from the political cut and thrust that fills the broadsheets, their readers denied the oxygen of debate.

Both the *Mirror* and *The People* found couples bitter that they had "believed in the Conservative 'dream' and both loyalty toed the Labour line in their leader columns while the *News of the World* countered by congratulating the cricket loving prime minister on his "good shot" with his "rousing" opening campaign speech. None of these papers brooked any hint of opposition to its established political stance.

The most consistent piece of this uncritical political fawning is to be found in

Peter Mandelson's political campaign diary in *The People*. The arch spin-doctor of the last Labour election campaign can find no Tory policy that is not wrong, no criticism of Labour that is not the work of "the Tory poodle press", no Labour tactic that is not totally justified. The result is a column that has all the freshness of a rerun party political broadcast.

Its sole saving grace is the ingenuity the prospective Labour candidate for Hartlepool shows in mentioning in yesterday's column: "My own campaign in Hartlepool got off to a flying start when I attended a concert given by the splendid Cleveland Youth Orchestra."

That the campaign can be brought alive and make good popular journalism was demonstrated by the middle market papers yesterday. Stewart Steven, the

editor of *The Mail on Sunday*, told an illuminating story of the prime minister's aversion to anyone who is rude to waiters. The *Sunday Express's* Bruce Anderson (and John Major's biographer) described the importance of Mr Major's experiences of poverty in south London in forming his political philosophy. This, the *Express* revealed, will form the centrepiece of a Tory election broadcast this week filmed "around his old Brixton haunts".

All the Sunday papers labour at a disadvantage during an election campaign. They can publish just four editions before polling day and they cannot hope to have the influence of a daily paper reacting to the news six days a week. But the popular Sunday papers do their readers and democracy an injustice if they continue to pay only lip service to political coverage.

## 'Minister for family' post urged

THE Bishop of Chichester, the Rt Rev Eric Kemp, wants the next government to create a new ministerial post specially to deal with family welfare and is urging church people to canvass election candidates about the idea.

"It is important that any new government should be committed to the strengthening of family life," he says in an article in the Chichester diocese news letter.

He says there should be concern about anything affecting families, such as alterations in the divorce law, government funding for the development of marital and relationship counselling and the increase of income for families living in poverty.

"There is a danger that with the questions being spread over so many different departments there may be no real concentrated thought given to the question as a whole," the bishop says.



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Elegant Fowler squares up against ebullient Archer in polite Tory power struggle

## Major's allies vie for chairmanship

A DECOROUS power struggle has begun between two intimates of the prime minister to become the next chairman of the Conservative party.

Whether the Conservatives win or lose the election, Chris Patten, the present chairman, is expected to move on to new political pastures. Colleagues say that the leading candidates to succeed him are Sir Norman Fowler, formerly a member of Mrs Thatcher's cabinet, and Jeffrey Archer, the novelist and former MP who was once a deputy chairman of the party.

Both are close to the prime minister and deeply involved in his election campaign. Sir Norman is travelling in his election entourage, helping to hone political responses and keep the media at bay. Mr Archer will be warming up audiences for Mr Major on the election tour, introducing his "in the round" question sessions and providing a sympathetic ear.

The elegant Sir Norman, a classless "caring Conservative" in the Major mode, who has been described as speaking in "Belgravia Cockney", forged a close link with Mr Major when the latter was a junior minister with him at the old health and social security department. He is an instinctive Tory politician with a keen ear for the party's pulse beat. Significantly, the Majorites wanted him for their campaign team in the leadership contest, as Mrs Thatcher had wanted him for hers in her battle with Michael Heseltine, but Sir Nor-

Whatever the election outcome, Chris Patten is likely to step down as party chairman. Robin Oakley profiles the two candidates most likely to succeed him

man stuck with a previous promise to support Mr Heseltine and stayed above the fray.

He resigned from Mrs Thatcher's cabinet in 1990, insisting that he wanted to spend more time with his family, and took on a number of business appointments. Colleagues believed that he was disappointed that she was clearly not going to make him party chairman.

Unlike some other cabinet leavers, Sir Norman never became a stranger to Westminster. He has remained active in the House of Commons and moved back into the political front line when he challenged William Cash, the prominent Euro-sceptic, to become chairman of the backbench European affairs committee last autumn, recapturing control of that body for the party establishment in the run-up to the Maastricht summit.

Sir Norman was never a headline-catching or particularly combative member of the cabinet as health or employment secretary, but colleagues have realised from the ructions in those departments since how skilfully he conducted himself. One said: "He is a get-things-done politician with a keen sense of timing. He knows when to make a move", instancing Sir Norman's surprise abolition

of the controversial Dock Labour Scheme.

Colleagues are convinced that Sir Norman missed the smell of the political grease-paint and the roar of the Westminster crowd and that he is on his way back to high office. It was announced last week that he was quitting as non-executive director of the engineering firm B. Elliott to spend more time on politics.

If Sir Norman is the establishment candidate for the party chairmanship, the ebullient Mr Archer is the grassroots choice. An indefatigable worker for the Tory cause, he has travelled the country for several years, speaking as often as three and four times a week at gatherings of the Tory faithful, with only Michael Heseltine able to draw a similar crowd.

Upstairs, sometimes indiscreet but always energetic, he never lets the party down. One cabinet minister remembers him arriving with his mouth so swollen with a tooth abscess that he could hardly articulate, yet still insisting on fulfilling his engagement. Mr Archer is the Tory party's semi-official party-giver, dispensing champagne and shepherd's pie to ministers and selected media.

Behind the banter and the celebrity book signings, he has had a serious role. Both with Margaret Thatcher, whom he still accompanies on tours to Japan, and with John Major, he has had inside access to report back informally on the feelings of the party faithful. Now his career appears to be resuming a more specifically political turn.

He has become something of a Tory institution, encouraged to give select social gatherings at party conferences where virtually the entire cabinet attends to rub shoulders with selected media figures and party benefactors. His three days of Christmas parties attract almost every leading figure in Tory politics and Fleet Street, with a starburst sprinkling of sports and theatre celebrities.

Mrs Thatcher was apparently and inexplicably thwart-



Moving on: Chris Patten addressing the Conservative Central Council in Torquay at the weekend. He is unlikely to chair the party after the election

ed by the political honours scrutiny committee in her attempts to give Mr Archer a peerage. Despite some colourful episodes in his past life, it is difficult to see why he should be blocked when many others who have done far less in politics are so rewarded.

At the Conservative Central Council meeting in Torquay at the weekend, the former MP for Louth was on the programme not for the jokey fund-raising turn, as he has

been before, but to chair a discussion group of ministers. The prime minister, who has done much of his cricket-watching in recent years in Mr Archer's company, is said to see him as a potential sports minister if he does not make party chairman.

Some ministers affectionately question Mr Archer's political judgment and fear that he could prove an unguided missile if he were to be made chairman, rather than the more discreet Sir Nor-

man. Others say that, after an election, when the party organisation tends to drift into the doldrums and the bank balance into the red, Mr Archer, has the sort of zip which will be needed, and hang the risk.

With Mr Major allegedly keen to trim the size of the cabinet, Mr Archer offers another bonus. Sir Norman, returning to full time politics, would certainly expect a cabinet position. His novelist rival would not.

POLLWATCH by Ivor Crewe

## How the margin for error makes everyone right

The results of the weekend's welter of national polls — two on Saturday and seven on Sunday, plus one in Scotland and four in Conservative marginals — have ranged from a Conservative lead of 2.5 percentage points to a Labour lead of four points, and produced appropriately contradictory headlines. Here is a guide for the perplexed poll watcher:

Which of the weekend polls was right? All of them, because the variation can be accounted for by the 3 per cent margin of sampling error that applies to any national poll. The proper way to describe party support is Conservative 39 +/- 3, Labour 40 +/- 3, Liberal Democrats 15 +/- 3.

What difference did the Budget make? Virtually none. Three different polls reported most respondents as saying that the Budget would make no difference to how they voted, with the rest more likely to say that it turned them against, rather than towards, the Conservatives. However, microscopic analysis suggests that the Budget may have shaved Labour's slender lead.

The average of the four polls conducted in the week before the Budget put Labour two points ahead (40.3 per cent to 38.3 per cent). The average of the seven national polls conducted since the Budget puts Labour 1.4 points ahead (40.7 per cent to 39.3 per cent).

Has there been any change in the past few days? Yes: the Liberal Democrats have been slightly squeezed since February, when Paddy Ashdown's affair gave helpful publicity. It is normal for the centre party's support to slip at the beginning of an election campaign, when the public tends to revert to traditional loyalties. So far the slippage — one point — has been less than in 1983 and 1987, when it was three to four points.

Are any long-term trends emerging? Again, virtually none. Comparison of the 12 polls published in each month this year suggests that Labour has overtaken a fractional Con-

servative lead to produce a narrow one of its own. Which party is ahead? Labour, in seven of the nine polls.

Do the weekend's constituency polls suggest that the marginals are different? Slightly. The national polls point to a 6.5 per cent swing to Labour, whereas NOP's polls in four Conservative marginals point to a slightly smaller swing of 5.5 per cent. Constituency polls tend to be less accurate than national polls, and four is too small a number for firm conclusions.

Is the popularity of the party leaders changing? No. People continue to prefer John Major by a wide (but slightly diminishing) margin over Neil Kinnock, who is evidently an electoral liability for Labour. His popularity runs well behind his party's. A Harris/LWT poll of uncommitted voters found that distrust of Mr Kinnock's suitability as prime minister — mentioned by almost half — was by far the most serious obstacle to their voting Labour.

What result do the polls point to? Thirty-three of this year's 36 polls, including all of the weekend's, imply a hung parliament. Assuming uniform national swing, the post-Budget polls translate into Labour 309 seats, Conservatives 306, Liberal Democrats 13, nationalists 6, others 17. If special local factors enabled the Liberal Democrats to win 20 seats and the Scottish Nationalists eight (as is widely expected), Labour would win 304 seats and the Conservatives 299.

Ivor Crewe is professor of government at Essex University.

**POLLING-UP**

Thirty-three of this year's 36 polls, including all of the weekend's, imply a hung parliament. Assuming uniform national swing, the post-Budget polls translate into Labour 309 seats, Conservatives 306, Liberal Democrats 13, nationalists 6, others 17. If special local factors enabled the Liberal Democrats to win 20 seats and the Scottish Nationalists eight (as is widely expected), Labour would win 304 seats and the Conservatives 299.

\* Excludes Gallup poll for The Sunday Telegraph compiled pre- and post-Budget.



Archer: serious role behind jokey banter



Fowler: instinctive Tory with ear for party pulse

MEDIWATCH by Brian MacArthur

## Fleet Street backs Major — but does it matter?

SO FAR as national daily newspapers are concerned the election is already over. Judged by circulation, 65 per cent of Fleet Street is already backing the Tories. Out of the 11 daily papers, six — *The Sun*, *The Daily Star*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Express*, *The Daily Telegraph*, and *The Times* — have already declared for the Conservatives, although for *The Times* that is so far only a pre-disposition. If the *Financial Times* (lukewarmly Tory in 1987) also opts for the Tories and is joined by *Today*, 69 per cent of Fleet Street will be voting Conservative.

There are good reasons why *Today* (a majority of whose readers vote Labour) can nevertheless be expected to vote Tory, although it will probably seek to exploit its attempt to win readers from the *Daily Mirror* by prolonging the agony into election week. At the last election *Today* was owned by Tiny Rowland's Lorrho and supported the Alliance. Now it is owned by News International.

Neil Kinnock is left with only three of 21 national daily and Sunday papers committed to Labour — the *Daily Mirror* (with 2.87 million of 14.2 million total daily sales) and the *Sunday Mirror* and *The People* (4.9 million of 16.3 million Sunday sales) —

and he might get the vote from *The Guardian* or the *Observer*. Is it any wonder that he has given only one newspaper interview, to the *Sunday Mirror*, and is concentrating on television where he gets a fairer hearing?

Such early declarations of support at least have the merit of honesty. They tell readers where their paper's bias is coming from — but some of the fun of Fleet Street election watching disappears when so few papers are genuinely wrestling day by day with the issues that still perplex the nation's six million undecided voters. Undecided and perplexed voters can follow *The Guardian* (which it opt for Labour or the Liberals?), the two *Independents* (will they both sit on the fence in 1992 as *The Independent* did in 1987?), the *Observer* (which in 1987 had the most tortured position of all) — or *The Times* and the *FT* where they will get properly critical assessments of the manifestoes notwithstanding any predilection for the Tories.

The problem for Mr Kinnock is that the undecideds often don't vote and if they do they don't read the serious papers. So although we can simultaneously admire yet deplore the professionalism of the jour-

nalistic spin that the Tory tabloids put on their news stories, the main question posed over the next three weeks will be whether such blatant bias matters. The answer confounds the conventional wisdom. According to research into voting patterns, the dirty tricks not only matter, they also shift votes.

At Newcastle University, Martin Harrop has shown that uncommitted voters who read a Tory paper are about 16 per cent more likely to vote Tory than those who read a Labour paper. Similar research by Professor Bill Miller at Glasgow University showed very clearly the power of Tory tabloids to mobilise the uncommitted and the apathetic as the last election approached.

As he wrote in the *New Statesman* last month, there was an overall swing to the Conservatives between the summer of 1986 and the 1987 summer election of about 5 per cent. Among those who read the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Express*, however, the swing was 8 per cent and among regular *Sun* and *Star* readers it was 17 per cent. That power to swing votes, moreover, and it is a point not made by Prof Miller, is understated since at least one in three of the readers of *The Sun*, *Mail* and *Express* who buy a second paper buy another Tory paper.

Prof Miller estimates that the three main Tory tabloids can effect a swing to the Conservatives of about 2 per cent, which would tilt the balance in some 20 seats. With a hung parliament in prospect, four papers therefore have the power to swing the election. If that seems a big claim, there is already support for the Miller/Harrop thesis in Scotland. Since *The Sun* in Scotland declared for the Scottish nationalists, polls show that within two months Labour's share of the vote in Scotland has fallen from 47 per cent to about 40 per cent.

**DAILY Mirror** **SUNDAY Mirror**

**The Guardian**

**Daily Mail**

Election line-up: the *Daily* and *Sunday Mirror* — Labour; *The Guardian* — Liberal Democrat; and the *Daily Mail* — Conservative

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— Tony Banks, Labour MP for Newham North West

"Shares down. Interest rates up. Sterling down. That's the verdict on the Tories. That's what, to coin a phrase, I call a triple whammy."

— Paddy Ashdown, Liberal Democrat leader

"I have fought quite a lonely, quite a difficult, quite a hard battle."

— Norman Lamont, Chancellor of the Exchequer

"I'm in politics. I understand that. You need to accept that in politics it's a rough trade and I do accept it."

— John Major when asked his view of personal comments made about him

"No Labour Party that I ever lead will disadvantage people who are on medium or on lower incomes."

— Neil Kinnock

"Britain would be an isolated, fly blown Socialist banana republic, stranded on the edge of Europe, isolated from America with the highest tax levels in the western world, half its industry nationalised and no means to defend itself."

— Chris Patten, Conservative party chairman, on what he believes would have happened to Britain if Labour had won the 1983 election

"I think the fetish, I can call it no other, the fetish that the Labour and Liberal parties both have for raising taxes seems to be very damaging."

— John Major

"Are you really arguing to me that there will be a serious body of opinion in the EC that will want to exclude from membership the state country with 70-80 per cent of the EC's oil and gas reserves?"

— Alex Salmond, Scottish National party leader, in *Watson* TV interview

PEOPLE READ NEWS PAPER



# US lines up strong Gulf strike force against Iraq

By MICHAEL EVANS, DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

THE Americans have assembled a powerful strike force in the Gulf region to renew military action against Iraq, if President Saddam Hussein continues to thwart United Nations efforts to eliminate his weapons of mass destruction. The firepower is only a fraction of that deployed for Operation Desert Storm, but Pentagon sources say it is "a composite" of everything used last year.

Since the end of the war, the Americans have maintained a strong presence in the area, acting as a continuing deterrent to Iraq and as a protective shield around Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. As a large part of Iraq's military capability was destroyed in the war, the size of the US strike force is probably sufficient to mount any operation against Iraqi targets without the need for heavy losses.

The US has 24,000 military personnel in the area, of which about 16,300 are at sea, 3,000 in the air force. This compares with 430,000 US servicemen deployed for Desert Storm, but the main impact of the US military presence is in firepower. The US Navy confirmed yesterday that there were 20 American warships in the Gulf, the Gulf of Oman, and the northern Arabian Sea.

US America, the sole aircraft carrier in the area, moved into the Gulf on Thursday. The carrier is escorted by three cruisers, four destroyers and two frigates. Apart from the 76 fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters on the carrier, there are an estimated 150 Tomahawk cruise missiles on the escort ships.

The US Navy deployment also includes a command ship, USS La Salle, believed to be in the Gulf, five amphibious ships and four support vessels. The amphibious ships, carrying 2,149 marines, are part of the 13th Marine Expeditionary Unit. Several reports have suggested that the marine force in

the Gulf has been increased to 7,000, but a US Navy official said the number of marines had remained at just over 2,000.

The British naval presence in the Gulf area consists of two warships, HMS York and HMS Beaver, and a support vessel, RFA Bayleaf. During the Gulf war, there were three warships.

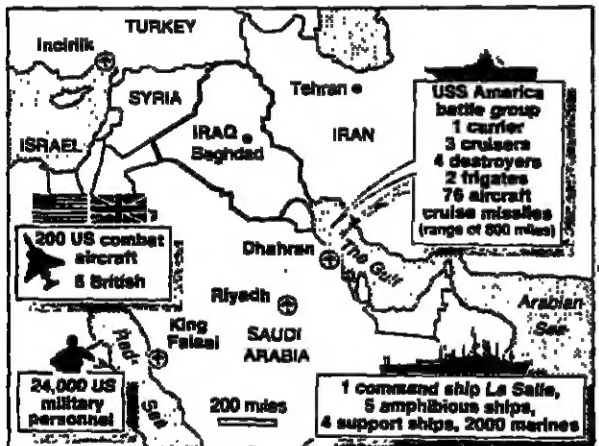
There are believed to be about 200 US combat planes in Saudi Arabia and Turkey. They include nearly 40 F111F bombers, F16s and EF111A electronic jamming aircraft at Incirlik in Turkey. Aircraft based in Saudi Arabia at Dhahran, Riyadh, and the King Faisal base are believed to include 20 F117A Stealth fighters, about 50 F16s and 2 J-Stars, the US army's converted Boeing 707 spy planes which can pick out ground targets from more than 100 miles away.

The Pentagon confirmed that the American air force assets included a number of Stealth fighters, the most successful of the precision bombing aircraft used in the Gulf war. The RAF has six Jaguar bombers and 2 VC10 tankers at Incirlik. Tornado aircraft at Cyprus and at RAF Bruggen in Germany could be deployed if a decision is made to renew air strikes.

Jerusalem: The Israeli government, spurred by news reports that it transferred American weapons and technology illegally to China and other Third World countries, bristled at the Bush administration yesterday (Ben Lyndfield writes).

Ehud Olmert, the health minister, accused Washington of conducting a deliberate smear campaign against the Jewish state. "The goal is to slander the state of Israel publicly and internationally and to give the impression that Israel is harming U.S. interests," he said, emerging from a cabinet meeting.

Pressure on Iraq, page 13  
Leading article, page 13



## Guns shatter ceasefire in Croatia

Belgrade: Sporadic shooting with artillery and mortars was reported overnight yesterday by Croatian radio around Djakovac and Osijek in eastern Croatia.

On Saturday, eight people were killed and more than 20 wounded in an upsurge of fighting with artillery, rockets, machineguns and mortars. The toll — two Yugoslav soldiers, four Croat soldiers and two civilians — was one of the highest daily counts since a UN-brokered truce between the Croats and Serbs took effect on January 3. (Reuters)

## Blow to Kohl

Bonn: In a new blow to Helmut Kohl's Christian Democrats (CDU) in east Germany, Alfred Gomolka resigns as prime minister of Mecklenburg-Vorpommern after losing a no confidence motion inside his local party.

## Hostage hope

Beirut: Major-General Sami al-Khatib, Lebanon's interior minister, said a hitch prevented the release last week of two German hostages. He said the trend was "to close this file, which I believe is going to happen very soon". (AP)

## Execution set

The first Californian execution for 25 years is due to take place on April 21 when Robert Alton Harris, the killer of two teenage boys in 1978, will walk to his death inside the San Quentin gas chamber.

## Spy-swap lawyer held on extortion charges

FROM IAN MURRAY IN BONN

WOLFGANG Vogel, who "sold" thousands of East Germans to Bonn for hard currency and negotiated the exchange of Western agents and Soviet spies and dissidents, is in jail suspected of extorting vast sums from those he supposedly helped.

The exchanges he organised across Berlin's Glienicke bridge began in 1962 when Gary Powers, pilot of the American U2 spy plane shot down over the Soviet Union, walked free in return for Rudolph Abel. But the lawyer-negotiator was busy behind the scenes, apparently ready to help East Germans flee to the West. About a quarter of a million escaped with his help. Another 34,000 political prisoners were sold to the West, making them an important hard currency "export".

Herr Vogel was respected in the West as an associate of the communist regime who could be trusted and who worked in difficult circumstances for human rights. Now, if police investigations are borne out, it seems that he was also working to improve his own bank balance.

He is suspected of forcing East Germans seeking to leave the country to sell their property and valuables at knockdown prices. Police say they have evidence that he used to demand about DM150,000 (£50,000) from those who wanted to leave.

He has been accused on 18 counts of extortion, but Berlin police say that 2,000 more

cases are being investigated. They also allege that he handed over cheaply bought property to the Stasi.

Herr Vogel, who has always denied any involvement with the secret police, is said to have been working with them since 1954. Police have insisted on holding him on the grounds that he has control of vast sums which cannot be traced but which would enable him to flee the country and live abroad in considerable style.

While the police and the Soviet congress delegates were playing cat and mouse across Moscow, two of the most powerful centrist parties were meeting to establish a loose coalition before next month's fully legitimate Russian congress. The timing of their conference also allowed them to condemn the "Soviet congress". The National Par-

liamentary Assembly, controlled the central government in Madrid and the city hall in Barcelona, the Catalan capital. It is a mea-

THE people of Catalonia, the hosts of the summer Olympics, went to the polls yesterday to elect a new regional government. The Generalitat, the autonomous government of Catalonia — one of the most prosperous regions of Spain — has been dominated for the past 12 years by the conservative nationalist leader, Jordi Pujol, who, according to the opinion polls, looked set to get an overall majority in the 135-seat parliament.

His main opponents, the Socialists, have been unable to make inroads into Señor Pujol's hold on Catalan politics, despite the fact that for the past decade they have

candidate, Pasqual Maragall, the mayor of Barcelona — a political giant in his own right, every bit as popular in the opinion polls as the Catalan president, due to his efforts in bringing the Olympics to Barcelona.

The Catalans have prospered under the division of conflicting political interests, with nationalists in charge of the regional administration and Socialists in power in Barcelona and Madrid, because — and the campaign leading up to these elections is a good example of this — politics in Catalonia are much less strident than in the rest of Spain.

Violence, the thorn that



sure of Señor Pujol's electoral strength that the Socialists have not yet dared to oppose him with their best potential

## Erzincan hunts for survivors

FROM ANDREW FINKELE IN ISTANBUL

IN ERZINCAN the sound of ambulances never stops as rescue workers in the devastated town fight to lift the rubble of Friday's earthquake without causing further injury to possible survivors trapped beneath. By yesterday 320 people were listed dead, with more than 600 injured.

"Sadly, we must suppose the number of casualties will increase," Ertan Sahin, a Turkish cabinet minister, said at the site. The exact number may never be known. Yesterday morning a Swiss team which works with track dogs managed to locate at least one survivor who pulled out by Turkish troops. A 13-man team from the International Rescue Corps based at Marlow combed debris with thermic lances and fibre-optic sensors.

There were no survivors in the wreckage of the Urartu hotel, and the congregations of two of Erzincan's mosques died when the buildings collapsed during evening prayers. Authorities are trying to restore water and electricity supplies and there is a shortage of tents for families left without shelter after some 2,000 homes were destroyed. Many of those with houses still standing in a city rocked by 21 after-shocks preferred to spend a third night freezing outdoors.

## Yeltsin foes dodge Moscow officials

CENTRAL Moscow bristled with police and Red Square was cordoned off yesterday at the start of what many Muscovites believe will be the tensest week in Russian politics since the August coup.

By next Sunday, all the competing forces and trends — the underground of resentful communists, a newly forged centrist alliance, the beleaguered Russian government, the cohesion of the Russian Federation and the durability of the Commonwealth of Independent States — will have been tested to the limit. The Russian authorities appear to regard tomorrow's planned "congress of Soviet deputies" — an attempt to resurrect the full parliament of the former Soviet Union — as the most immediate threat.

The overt police presence in Moscow yesterday was intended to enforce a country-wide ban on the congress, which is seen as a brazen challenge to the independence of Russia and the legitimacy of the commonwealth. The congress organisers, who include Viktor Alksnis, the "black colonel", claimed that registration of delegates had none the less begun yesterday, as planned, at an undisclosed location. They said that at least 1,000 of the former Soviet deputies had agreed to attend.

The illegal congress is planned to be followed by a demonstration taking the form of a "national assembly", or vechi beside the Kremlin, when as many people as can be persuaded to attend will be asked to endorse the congress decisions by acclamation. Yesterday, a few hundred demonstrators with red banners held a short demonstration on Red Square. If it was a forerunner of what to expect tomorrow, the authorities may not have much to worry about.

While the police and the Soviet congress delegates were playing cat and mouse across Moscow, two of the most powerful centrist parties were meeting to establish a loose coalition before next month's fully legitimate Russian congress. The timing of their conference also allowed them to condemn the "Soviet congress". The National Par-

Dichard deputies spearhead a week of challenges to the Kremlin and its legitimacy, writes Mary Dejevsky

ty of Free Russia, led by Mr Yeltsin's vice-president, Aleksandr Rutskoi, and the Democratic Party of Russia, led by the charismatic Speaker, Nikolai Travkin, agreed a joint policy document which sets as priorities the preservation of the Russian Federation as a single state and economic reform coupled with adequate social security.

One of the purposes of the new alliance is believed to be the rescue of the radical Russian government — on certain conditions.

Today's confrontation between parliament and government, and Tuesday's possible confrontation between the new order and the old, set the scene for two equally significant encounters later in the week. On Friday, commonwealth leaders converge on Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, to try, yet again, to find some satisfactory arrangement for managing the disintegration of the former Soviet Union's armed forces.

Floral tribute: LaToya Jackson, the American singer, lays flowers on the tomb of La Goulue, the Moulin Rouge dancer, in Paris yesterday



## Vance to mediate in enclave

By JAMES BONE IN NEW YORK AND MICHAEL BINYON IN LONDON

AFTER successfully arranging a United Nations peace-keeping operation in Croatia, the UN special envoy, Cyrus Vance, heads today for the disputed enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh to see if a similar UN effort could succeed there.

The former US Secretary of State, who turns 75 next week, is to make a fact-finding tour of the troubled Armenian-populated enclave in Azerbaijan and then visit the Azeri capital, Baku, and the Armenian capital, Yerevan. He also plans to attend a summit in Kiev on Friday of members of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

His mission is the first direct UN involvement in the four-year ethnic conflict, which has claimed some 1,500 lives, and an early example of the organisation's new interest in "preventive diplomacy". Douglas Hogg, the junior Foreign Office minister who returned on Friday from a visit to Yerevan and Baku, said yesterday there were points of convergence, and he was more optimistic.

Peer with a mission. Life & Times, page 4

## Kennedy to marry old family friend

Edward Kennedy, the American senator from Massachusetts, has announced that he will marry Victoria Reggie, right, a Washington attorney. No date has been set, but he said in a statement that the wedding would be in the second half of this year. Ms Reggie, aged 38, is an old friend of the Kennedy family. She has two children and was divorced in 1990. "I love Vicki and her children very much," Senator Kennedy, aged 60, said in his statement, released on Saturday. "I've known her for many years. We began dating last June, and she has brought enormous happiness into my



life. I look forward to our marriage and our life together." The senator was divorced in 1982. He has three children.

Diary, page 12

William de Klerk, youngest son of President de Klerk of South Africa, has broken off his engagement to a coloured beauty queen, the South African Sunday Times reported. "It is finished," Erica Adams said about the 30-month relationship. The couple split up because of pressure from the president and his wife, Marika, according to a close friend of Miss Adams.

Day of the Jackal, page 12

Martina Navratilova says the high costs of her palimony legal battle with Judy Nelson, her former lover, have forced her to settle out of court. The nine-times Wimbledon champion and Ms Nelson, a former beauty queen, signed a settlement on Friday. Ms Navratilova told a Fort Worth television station: "The lawyers are laughing all the way to the bank." The terms of the settlement are confidential, but Ms Nelson is to get the £760,000 home she shared with the tennis star.

Some opera fans in Bath queued from 5am in the cold and rain to snap up the last 4,000 tickets for a José Carreras concert in the Royal Crescent. The other 8,000 tickets, available through agents in London, sold out two days earlier.

Jonathan Demme, who directed the thriller *The Silence of the Lambs*, has won the Directors' Guild of America's top honour.

Bill Oddie, star of *The Goodies* and a keen bird watcher, is spearheading a campaign by Norfolk police to catch people who steal birds' eggs.

Slash, the guitarist for the Guns 'N' Roses rock group, has signed a multimillion-dollar deal to promote Black Death vodka. Robert Plotkin, the Black Death spokesman, told the New York Daily News.

## Attacks in Georgia rekindle civil war

FROM ANATOL LIEVEN IN TBILISI

GEORGIA appears to be heading towards renewed civil war, after hundreds of armed supporters of Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the deposed president, attacked provisional government forces in the west of the country. In reprisal, crowds of the government's supporters in Tbilisi burned down Dr Gamsakhurdia's home, from which his family fled when opposition forces launched a coup against him in January.

The burnt and mutilated bodies of six national guardsmen, which allegedly had been tortured by pro-Gamsakhurdia forces after being captured, were shown on state television at the weekend. The incident has generally appalled Georgians. Gamsakhurdia supporters in Tbilisi allege that the film is an act of government misinformation.

On Saturday, pro-Gamsakhurdia forces in the western town of Zugdidi, the last place to hold out for Dr Gamsakhurdia during the January coup, captured two senior officers of the Georgian national guard, Besik Kumbaladze and George Qarashvili. According to some government sources, the two officers were captured when they went to negotiate with the pro-Gamsakhurdia fighters. Other sources say that their helicopter was forced down by ground fire. Mr Kumbaladze was a prominent supporter of Dr Gamsakhurdia before defecting to join the rebels.

The offensive poses a threat to the new government of Eduard Shevardnadze, the former Georgian Communist party chief and Soviet foreign minister, who was elected head of state by parliament last week. Dr Gamsakhurdia and his supporters allege that Mr Shevardnadze was be-

hind the January coup, and was important in ensuring military support by the Commonwealth of Independent States for the coup forces.

Government sources estimate there are 200 to 1,000 armed supporters of Dr Gamsakhurdia active in western Georgia. They also allege that 40 to 200 Chechens are involved in the attack on the provisional government. Since the coup, Dr Gamsakhurdia has been taking refuge with General Dzhark Dudayev, the president of the Chechen republic. However, the general said last month that his support for the deposed president would be political and economic, and would not involve sending forces to Georgia.

The present whereabouts of Dr Gamsakhurdia are not clear. Last month he said that he would soon be returning to lead the fight in Georgia. He did not rule out the use of force against the provisional government, saying that its crimes would lead people of their own accord to take up arms against it.

The lack of order in the Transcaucasus was re-emphasised yesterday when, for the second time in as many days, the main express train from Baku to Tbilisi was attacked by Azerbaijan robbers. The incident was given an ethnic colour by Azerbaijanis, who said that the robbers had stolen only from Georgians, in revenge for Georgian attacks on Azerbaijanis travelling home from Georgian Black Sea ports.

Across the border, Georgians who heard of the incident were cursing the "Muslim bandits". The engine driver, meanwhile, had disappeared. All air flights from Baku to Tbilisi have been suspended in recent weeks.

## Solzhenitsyn protests at publishers

FROM BRUCE CLARK IN MOSCOW

ALEXANDER Solzhenitsyn has protested in a message published in *Truth*, the mass-circulation daily, over the circulation in Russia of badly produced and overpriced editions of his works by wildcat publishers.

Writing from Cavendish, Vermont, where he lives, the former dissident apologised to his Russian readers for failing to avert such malpractices. His message was accompanied by an interview with his wife Natalya, who spoke of the flood of complaints they had received from Russian readers.



## Alarms ring in Pretoria as English-speaking voters respond to right's 'no' campaign

## Fear of close result confronts de Klerk

FROM GAVIN BELL  
IN JOHANNESBURG

EARLY optimism that white voters will endorse President de Klerk's reform initiatives by a substantial majority in tomorrow's referendum has been dissipated as polling day approaches, raising the prospect of a close result. There are even fears that those voting "no" will carry the day, giving victory to the Conservative party and its campaign for a return to apartheid.

Alarm bells began ringing for the National party at the weekend when canvass returns showed that all of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal, excepting Johannesburg, are in the "no" camp. The surge of opposition leaves Mr de Klerk with barely an even chance of winning a mandate to pursue negotiations with black leaders on the framework of a multiracial democracy.

Party officials concede they are likely to lose the Pretoria region because of defections by civil servants and the security forces. They also expect the "no" vote in the Free State to be at least 60 per cent.

The Nationalists are relying on a massive turn-out of liberal voters in Johannesburg, Natal and the Cape, where the fickle loyalties of English-speakers will be crucial. A Conservative party official said: "The crunch is among English voters, and

## THE REFERENDUM

Who can vote: 3.28 million white citizens, aged 18 and over, 60 per cent Afrikaans-speaking, 40 per cent English speaking.

The question: "Do you support continuation of the reform process which the state president began on February 2, 1990, and which is aimed at a new constitution through negotiation?"

What is at stake: de Klerk wants a "yes" majority to allow his government to continue reform talks with black opposition groups; creation of a non-racial democracy that would grant the black majority a vote for the first time and strong constitutional protection for the white minority.

We are making big inroads. While outspending the Conservatives five to one in publicity, the government has been undermined by intensive opposition doorstep canvassing. Right-wing meetings, which are advertised by word of mouth or limited street posters, are easily the best attended.

Conservative speakers exploit racial fears by focusing on the *swart gevaar* (black peril), and the alliance between the African National Congress and the Communist party. Audiences love it. Eco-

nomics recession, soaring crime, and political violence in black communities are all being used to discredit the government.

An unprecedented unity among disparate right-wing forces has brought to the fore neo-Nazi militants such as the Afrikaner Resistance Movement. Once on the radical fringes, the paramilitary group has emerged as a standard-bearer of the mainstream right wing, its leaders landed as the heroes of the struggle against black majority rule.

Officially, Mr de Klerk remains optimistic that whites will appreciate that there is no viable alternative to sharing power with the black majority. "I am confident and I don't have nightmares," he said at the weekend. "Everywhere I go I meet enthusiastic and motivated people who want to vote 'yes'. We are bringing home to the electorate that a 'no' vote would be suicidal."

He said he believed voters realised that the referendum was a final turning-point in South African history. "This is the moment of truth. I have presented whites with a crucial choice which should preclude them from voting according to their general grievances or minor fancies. The stakes are just too high."

People, page 10  
Day of the jockey, page 12



Street collision: a farmer campaigning for a "no" vote grapples with police during a weekend demonstration at Nylostroom in northern Transvaal

## Concrete wall fails to shield whites from the changing world

BY GAVIN BELL

FOR Nicole Pieterse, the last straw was when a neighbouring municipality allowed thousands of blacks from an overcrowded township to set up a squatter camp on open ground near her home. The sprawl of makeshift zinc and plasterboard huts has spread to within 100 yards of her modern bungalow, with its trim lawn and rose-covered trellis, and she does not like it.

"I don't believe what the government says any more. At the last election in 1989, they said there would be mixed areas, but we could keep our own schools and residential areas if we wanted to. Now they tell us we must share everything with the blacks, but I tell you, it's not going to happen that way."

Mrs Pieterse is one of many traditional National party supporters who will vote "no" in tomorrow's referendum on constitutional reforms, because she insists that whites should have the right to live, study and amuse themselves in areas from which blacks are excluded. In response to a residents' petition, the municipality of Brakpan put a 6ft concrete wall around Mrs Pieterse's suburb to shield it from the encroaching black settlement.

The grey wall, which snakes for several miles around Dalpark, is more of a

statement than an effective barrier, since there are many gaps where the concrete slabs have fallen or been removed. A path has been worn through the veld to one of the gaps by blacks walking to pick up minibuses to travel to work in the town.

"This used to be a quiet, peaceful area, and now my children aren't safe in the streets any more," she said. "I'm always afraid they will be killed by one of these taxis or abducted by a black."

Around the corner, the Dixon family is divided by the referendum. Leslie, a boiler-maker aged 24, said he accepted he had to work with blacks, but he did not want to live with them. "We must have black people to work for us, but they should live in their own areas. I will definitely vote 'no'," he said.

Maria, his mother, interrupted: "Black people have as much right to this country as we have. They were here first, remember." Pointing to a neat bungalow across the road, she said: "There's a black family living there. They're good, decent people. What is the right wing going to do with them, throw them out? If the Conservatives win, what do you think will happen? The black people are going to hate us so much, we'll have a war."

## Democrats woo bitter car workers

Anti-Japanese protectionism is a live issue for presidential candidates in the heart of the US car industry, reports Jamie Detmer from Flint, Michigan

There is a "no feel good" factor in Michigan, as one of Mr Bush's campaign team put it, and the feeling has turned very sour since GM announced this month the closure of three plants, including one in Flint, at a cost of over 10,000 jobs. Two months ago there were several other GM plant and job cutbacks. The Michigan unemployment rate now stands at 9 per cent, a full point above the national average.

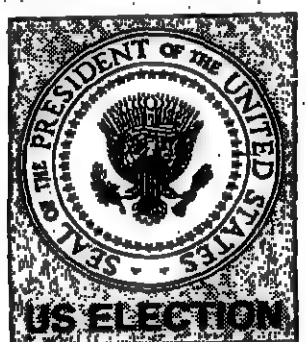
"The mood I see is a combination of anger and desperation," said Paul Hillemonds, a Democrat in the state legislature. "After talking to most suppliers, it frightens me to see how frightened they are about the future of the auto industry."

It was not always like this. On the back of the car industry, Michigan was the fastest growing state in the Midwest between 1940 and 1965, attracting workers from all over America. The assembly lines rolled, petrol was cheap, and the American dream was attainable. Blue-collar workers lived middle-class lives.

Now there is gloom on the grid-like network of roads radiating from the GM plant in Flint to where most car workers — or former workers — live in smart, wooden plant bungalows. Beside many homes can be seen small motorboats under tarpaulins, testimonies to the good times before the Japanese came.

As the car workers look around for a candidate, they are turning increasingly to Jerry Brown, the former governor of California, whose attacks on Washington and all politicians resounds well with blue-collar workers, who feel that the rich and big business are now running America, and running it down.

Mr Brown's once disregarded campaign now has the backing of the Michigan Teamsters union. The candidate of Californian chic is finding a home with the pizza and beer set. Wearing a blue satin UAW jacket, Mr Brown made a rousing speech to GM car workers on Saturday and brought them to their feet as he attacked GM and asked the audience who was responsible for letting the American dream die. "I'm



growing state in the Midwest between 1940 and 1965, attracting workers from all over America. The assembly lines rolled, petrol was cheap, and the American dream was attainable. Blue-collar workers lived middle-class lives.

Now there is gloom on the grid-like network of roads radiating from the GM plant in Flint to where most car workers — or former workers — live in smart, wooden plant bungalows. Beside many homes can be seen small motorboats under tarpaulins, testimonies to the good times before the Japanese came.

here because I like my job," said William Baldwin, who has worked at GM for 51 years. I think Brown is the only one who can save my job. If the Japanese want to sell here, it should be a dollar out, a dollar in. They should allow US goods into Japan."

Ken Bugbee, who has worked at GM for 29 years, said: "We have got to have someone in office who will tell the Japanese to stay at home." Several state and local union leaders are also backing Mr Brown, hoping that if he takes Michigan it will help to deadlock the Democratic convention and allow other Democrats, like Richard Gephardt and Lloyd Bentsen.

Mr Brown's "boomier" as the US commentators call it, is likely to help Bill Clinton and further damage Paul Tsongas, whose pro-business line and role in the Chrysler bailout 13 years ago endeared him little to voters.

Although Mr Clinton had angered the car workers by supporting "fast-track" negotiations for a free trade pact with Mexico, which could result in American car production being moved down into low-wage Mexico, he is still gaining the support of many leaders of the UAW and some local branches. Pro-Clinton workers say they back him because he is the only Democrat able to beat President Bush in November.

Surveys released over the weekend forecast that President Bush and his respective races tomorrow. Among Illinois voters polled by Gallup, 79 per cent supported Mr Bush and 15 per cent Mr Buchanan. Among Democratic voters in Michigan polled for *The Detroit News*, 49 per cent backed Mr Clinton, 18 per cent Mr Tsongas, and 17 per cent Mr Brown — up from 8 per cent a week ago. Mr Clinton and Mr Tsongas would each run about even with Mr Bush in Illinois if the election were held now, a *Chicago Tribune* poll showed.

Earlier bombardment had smashed an old pagoda on the summit and churned up the sulphur-coloured soil, but the Burmese were unable to dislodge the Karens. Troops of the junta in Rangoon will now be able to use the mountain as a fire base from which to lob shells at a wide variety of guerrilla targets along the Salween and Moei rivers, including Manerplaw, the Karen headquarters.

All Karen frontline positions have been reinforced, with most fighting now north of Manerplaw. Women and children have been evacuated from the settlement, which holds more of a symbolic than strategic significance because it is the seat of an alternative government to the military regime in Rangoon. Burma's military has promised to occupy Manerplaw by March 27.

The Karen people have been fighting Burmese governments for 43 years. Now that their largest sanctuary in eastern Burma is on the verge of subjugation, they are likely to abandon positional warfare for hit-and-run tactics.

## Burmese take rebel hill base

FROM ADAM KELLNER  
IN RANGOON

BURMESE soldiers yesterday conquered Sleeping Dog mountain, a commanding peak from which they will be able to shell vulnerable Karen guerrilla positions in the jungle below.

Thai military sources and Karen spokesmen said the remaining rebel fighters had withdrawn from the crest of the jungle-covered mountain after sustained artillery barrages and air strikes, many using new weaponry supplied by China. Casualties were high in the final battle for Sleeping Dog, which has been the focus of fighting since December 13, and Karen leaders ordered a retreat when the defenders' supply lines were cut.

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## UN starts to tackle Cambodian task

FROM JAMES FRINGLE IN PHNOM PENH

AS SPORADIC fighting continued around a strategic town in central Cambodia, the United Nations peace-keeping operation here — the largest and most costly in UN history — began in earnest yesterday with the arrival of its civilian and military leaders.

"My priority is obviously the establishment of peace in Cambodia with the co-operation of everybody," Yasushi Akashi, head of the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (Untac), said after his arrival here, flanked by leaders of the Khmer Rouge and of the Phnom Penh regime. The 60-year-old Japanese envoy, who was previously a United Nations under-secretary for disarmament, said Cambodia's four warring factions, grouped together in an uneasy Supreme National Council, together face a historic challenge "unique in its magnitude and complexity."

"They must put an end to two decades of war, destruction and suffering, create conditions for a lasting peace, and enable the Cambodian people to determine their destiny through free and fair elections," he said.

It is a tall order, but eventually, in an effort to make it work, there will be 21,000 military and civilian personnel deployed in this war-ravaged country at a total cost of up to \$2.9 billion (£1.6 billion) — a sum the United Nations has had difficulty in raising. This total includes the cost of repatriation of 370,000 Cambodians along the Thailand border and clearance of mines to provide them with land.

An illustration of the difficulties ahead was apparent in fighting that has been going on in Kompong Thom province, 80 miles north of here, since late February — the worst ceasefire violations since a truce was signed on May 1 last year. Khmer

Rouge forces, numbering up to 3,000, appear to be trying to strengthen their positions before Untac deploys by seizing strategic areas. It is a tit-for-tat struggle with the Vietnamese-installed Phnom Penh government, and thousands of civilians have fled artillery duels.

Lieutenant-General John Sanderson, the Australian head of the Untac military component who arrived with Mr Akashi, said his own first priority was to review the state of readiness of UN troops already here — a battalion of Indonesians arrived last week.

"They are new to the type of activities being conducted here," General Sanderson said guardedly, when asked if the Indonesian forces would



be deployed in Kompong Thom. "They have come a long way, and most troops take some time to shake out in this kind of environment. Fortunately, they have come from another tropical region."

It is an awkward situation for General Sanderson, given the unsettled relations which exist between Australia and Indonesia following the recent mass killings of unarmed civilians by Indonesian troops in East Timor. A successful deployment would, perhaps give the Indonesian forces some much-needed lustre, but obviously General Sanderson will not want to order them into a war zone if they are likely to suffer serious casualties.

## Clinton machine roars ahead in the North

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN CHICAGO

POLLS published yesterday showed Bill Clinton so far ahead of Paul Tsongas in Illinois and Michigan that he would be virtually assured of the Democratic nomination if the figures were reproduced in tomorrow's presidential primaries.

In Illinois, the governor of Arkansas, led Mr Tsongas, the former Massachusetts senator, by 48 per cent to 21. In Michigan Mr Clinton had 49 per cent and Mr Tsongas 18, just a point ahead of Jerry Brown, the former California governor who appears to be gaining fast with his appeals to organised labour.

Mr Tsongas was routed in last week's Southern Super Tuesday primaries. He said he saw victory in one of these two Rustbelt states, where

neither candidate has a regional advantage, as vital to prevent Mr Clinton building an unstoppable momentum.

On the Republican side, the polls suggest that Patrick Buchanan's challenge to President Bush might be faltering. The conservative commentator concentrated his efforts last week on depressed and angry Michigan, but trails by 71 per cent to 21. In Illinois, Mr Bush leads by 79 per cent to 15. Party leaders pressed Mr Buchanan to end his debilitating challenge after his poor performances on Super Tuesday, and he could indeed drop out if his "America First" message fails to secure at least 30 per cent in a state as economically xenophobic as Michigan.

Mr Tsongas's campaign here seemed ill-fated from the

moment his plane got stuck in the mud at a Chicago airport last week as he and the other presidential hopefuls hopped back and forth across Lake Michigan.

Illinois, a demographic microcosm of America, has catapulted three of the last four Democratic nominees to victory at the party's convention. Mr Clinton began organising in the state last summer while Mr Tsongas was still a "rumour". His campaign is purring along, and he has hundreds of official endorsements. Mr Tsongas talks about "the message versus the machine", but that cuts little ice here: machine politics were virtually invented in Chicago.

Mr Clinton has the black vote, and some fiery congressional primaries tomorrow

will ensure a big black turnout. Senator Alan Dixon, for instance, faces a strong challenge from a black woman for dismissing sexual harassment accusations by Anita Hill against Clarence Thomas in last autumn's Supreme Court nomination hearings.

Chicago accounts for half the primary vote and is the real battleground. Mr Tsongas's strongholds are the suburbs and white-collar Lake Shore districts. Republicans may vote for him in the Democratic primary as Mr Bush has their own sewn up. But he appears to have made few inroads into the vast blue-collar white ethnic groups, the Irish and the Poles, in spite of launching uncharacteristically fierce attacks on Mr Clinton's character and electability.

## Size-nine shoe may solve Earhart mystery

FROM CHARLES BREMNER IN NEW YORK

Amelia Earhart, the dashingly pre-war flyer and celebrity, apparently survived for some time on an uninhabited Pacific Island after disappearing on her final flight, provoking one of the world's greatest flying mysteries, according to a team of American investigators.

Richard Gillespie and his Houston-based team are to present evidence in Washington today which they say confirms that Earhart and Fred Noonan, her navigator and lover, crash-landed on Nikumaroro, formerly the British possession of Gardner Island, after losing their way and running out of fuel on their attempt to fly the Pacific on July 2, 1937.

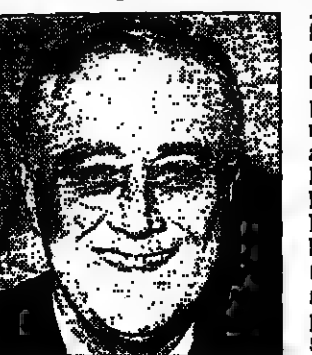
Tests have confirmed that a piece of aluminium found on the island last October

came from Earhart's twin-engine Lockheed 10-E Electra, Mr Gillespie said. An American size-nine shoe of the period had been proved to have belonged to her, he added.

Earhart's disappearance at the age of 39 prompted Franklin Roosevelt to launch a naval and air search of the central Pacific. Weak radio distress signals were picked up for three days after the Lockheed's fuel would have run out. A navy plane flew over the dense vegetation of Gardner island days after the disappearance and reported signs of habitation but no people.

Fuel exhaustion and faulty navigation provided the most plausible explanation for Earhart's failure to complete her hazardous flight.

In the years that followed, however, mystery-mongers suggested that the free-spirited but married Earhart had staged her disappearance to start a new life with Noonan. There were also wartime legends that she



Roosevelt: launched naval and air search

had been spying for America on Japanese operations and had been spotted in Japanese prison camps. UFO buffs have insisted that Earhart was whisked away by space aliens.

Mr Gillespie's team, the International Group for Historic Aircraft Recovery, used radio reports and navigational expertise to pinpoint the island, 1,800 miles southwest of Hawaii, as Earhart's most likely landing spot. The team believes that the flyer crash-landed on the Gardner beach at low-tide and used the radio until the batteries ran down and the plane was pulled out to sea. The team says she and Noonan survived eating birds and fish until they died in a drought in 1938.



# Two-note Toryism

Conservative tactics rely too much on taxes and Major, writes Peter Riddell

The word tax has become like a talisman prayer for the Tories, a litany to be intoned frequently to remind voters of the choice they face. It has replaced the words Galtieri and Scargill, John Major, Norman Lamont, Michael Heseltine and Chris Patten mentioned tax 30 times each on average in their weekend speeches at the Conservative Central Council in Torquay. Talking to senior ministers at the meeting, I was struck by how quickly each conversation turned to tax, in no more than 10 to 15 seconds in most cases.

The Tories are going for broke on the single issue of tax plus the decency and common sense of John Major. Both are strong assets, but not in themselves a sufficient case for a fourth term. Ahead of Wednesday's manifesto, the Tories have been short of a clear, positive appeal.

Mr Heseltine stirred the faithful in Torquay with his comparison of Labour's attitude to tax to the charge of the Light Brigade, after checking with Douglas Hurd that the charge was at Balaclava rather than Sebastopol. The fully armed Heseltine on the attack is a formidable sight, and he is visibly relishing the prospect of a fierce battle.

Ministers believe that the tax issue not only sharply differentiates the Tories from Labour but will also be an election winner — even though, so far, the Budget has not boosted the party in the polls. The Tories have succeeded in forcing Labour on to ground it would prefer to avoid. Behind a good humoured facade, Neil Kinnock could hardly hide his irritation yesterday at the concentration by David Frost on tax, and who would pay what, during a TV-am interview, John Smith will have to be very agile to escape the trap when he unveils his shadow budget today.

The Tory pronouncements on taxes are much exaggerated. Admittedly the tax burden would be higher under a Labour than a Tory government, but the gap would not be as nearly as large as the politicians suggest. The burden has, of course, risen since 1979: the welfare state has to be financed. The main difference is over the balance of taxation between direct and indirect, and its distribution between varying levels of income: middle managers and above would pay more under Labour. It is an important distinction, but hardly the key to Britain's economic future.

The Tories' difficulty is that almost no other issue is so helpful to them. In some cases this is because the government's successes, such as reducing inflation and curbing union power, have made people less worried. With others, such as the recession, the record is weaker.

The campaign so far is reminiscent of the episode of *Fawlty Towers* in which Basil tells his hotel staff not to talk about the war in front of their German visitors and promptly does so all the time.

## RIDDELL ON MONDAY

Both main parties know they should not talk about some topics but they find it hard not to do so. Labour has to explain its views on tax, while the Tories feel compelled to talk about health.

At Torquay, both William Waldegrave and Virginia Bottomley told the "good news" story on the NHS and urged party activists to do the same. Mr Waldegrave even quoted Enoch Powell, one of his predecessors, in support, but then he is a licensed intellectual. Whatever the merits of the Tory case, such appeals are electorally counter-productive, since even mentioning the NHS hurts the Tories: it reminds voters of its problems. Probably not by chance, both ministers spoke at times when it was certain they would get little or no television coverage.

Aside from tax, the Tories are relying on the undoubted personal appeal of Mr Major, both by means of informal question and answer sessions of the type that he launched yesterday, and the Major the Man election broadcast this Wednesday, recording his odyssey from Coleharbour Lane to Downing Street. On Saturday, he talked of ending regional, class and educational disparities: "we want a country in which people get on because of what they are, not who they are". The slogans, "wealth and welfare hand in hand" and people being "the masters not the servants" of their worlds, may be deeply felt but they do not add up to a coherent programme.

Is the Major message Thatcherism with a human face, as Kenneth Clarke recently described it, or is it more? Mr Patten believes that the answer to the Labour "time for a change" call is to say there was a change of government in November 1990. In Torquay, he asked, not altogether tactfully, "when did a prime minister on taking office face a more formidable pile of problems in his in-tray?" Some were in foreign policy, such as the Gulf, which could not be blamed on Mrs Thatcher, but many were domestic and, implicitly, her fault. Other ministers, including Mr Major, place more stress, at least publicly, on the continuity with the 1980s.

The current fashion, as in David Willetts' new book *Modern Conservatism*, is to argue that tensions between individualism and a traditional emphasis on communities — Thatcherism versus, say, Christian Democracy — can, and always have been, reconciled by the Tories. That naturally appeals to Mr Major. But it also blurs the message. Endless attacks on the Opposition over tax and an attractive personal odyssey are no substitute for a strategy for a fourth term.

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## ...and moreover MATTHEW PARRIS

I was lying awake the other night, pondering a thunderous Times leading article I'd read that morning, when a truth dawned on me. I was about the last privatisation of the century.

The leading article had discussed the home secretary's plans for a "national" lottery. Its tone was incredulous: why was a Conservative government creating a new nationalised industry?

In a flash, I saw why. Let me explain. We started in Wittenberg in 1517, where Martin Luther denounced the sale of indulgences. These allowed the sinner to buy his way out of the penalties for sin. Passports even to eternal life went on sale. Luther objected, nailing 95 theses to the church door (he needed a good sub-editor). Luther questioned whether the Church could "sell" to an individual a release from the burdens laid upon others.

Well, the Church's jurisdiction may be a matter of controversy, but the state's jurisdiction is not. Like it or not, the jurisdiction of the state is what the law says it is. If the state says you cannot lawfully operate a taxi without a taxi licence then a licence you must buy. If the law says you cannot lawfully broadcast a commercial television signal without a franchise from the Home Office, then a franchise you must bid for. If the state says that all lotteries offering big prizes are prohibited except for one, then

there can only be one big lottery that is lawful.

What is being granted is a permission, advantage, or restriction, and always have been, reconciled by the Tories. That naturally appeals to Mr Major. But it also blurs the message. Endless attacks on the Opposition over tax and an attractive personal odyssey are no substitute for a strategy for a fourth term.

The sale of permissions by the state is as old as the state. Since history began, princes, chancellors and local authorities strapped for cash have been selling their own versions of passports to their own versions of — if not eternal life — eternal livelihood. The Crown used to sell "winners' licences" transferable from father to son. Last week, Westminster city council proposed to sell "parking permits" for £1,000 a year.

At first the licence is justified as a regulatory measure, confirming that you are a fit person to do the thing licensed. Payment is demanded to cover the costs of administration. But, as the state has a monopoly in the issue of the permission, it soon occurs to somebody that permits can be sold for cash. The fee is nudged upwards towards the limit of what a captive market will bear.

The most shocking modern example of what Luther so eloquently denounced at Wittenberg is what the British airports authority now does at Heathrow: its main source of profit. It sells to storekeepers a modern form of indulgence, releasing them from the obligation to pay excise duties to HM Customs and Excise on sales of

European culture has progressed since Hitler, Stalin and Franco poisoned the arts with their intolerant nationalism. These days we recognise that great art knows no boundaries. We rejoice in artistic genius, wherever its source. We do not treat the arts as we treat sport: as a mechanism for showing superiority over other countries.

And if you believe any of that, you travel the world with your eyes closed. The truth is that something parochial, petty and protectionist has come to the fore in artistic life. Consider these signs.

In Edinburgh the most talked-about artistic statement of the year is a huge graffiti on the wall of the National Gallery of Scotland. "Go home English," it advises, and adds: "That means you Timothy Clifford." Mr Clifford, the gallery's director, is a natural target

for those who believe Scotland's creativity is being stifled by English cultural imperialism.

In Scotland, it seems, all cultural activity comes under suspicion unless it proclaims its Scottishness. Since John McGrath's 1973 drama *The Cheviot, The Stag and the Black, Black Oil*, Scottish playwrights have brooded introspectively on what they see as centuries of English exploitation. Even foreign dramas are only considered meaningful if recast in Scottish language and location.

Today, Glasgow is expected to bid to house a new National Gallery of Scottish Art. By its very name this is a concept based on

the limiting hypothesis that a single nationalistic strand of art history gains from being presented in ghetto-like isolation.

Scotland's drift towards cultural narrowness is not unique. Take the entertaining row in Vienna over Claus Peymann, director of the Burgtheater. Her Peymann is a brilliant innovator; his *Machbeth* is a box office hit. But he is also a German, and the Austrian press has worked itself into a fever of patriotic indignation over his alleged plan to banish the traditional Austrian fare of Schnitzler, Hofmannsthal and the rest in favour of radical German chic.

Or take the reaction in France

this month to the decision by Jack Lang, the culture minister, to present the Ordre des Arts et Lettres to the American film star Sylvester Stallone. Pinning a medal on the bulging pectorals of "Rambo" was not, perhaps, M. Lang's most perceptive evaluation of popular culture. But judging from the xenophobic ire unleashed in the French press, he would have done better to give the gong to an English rugby player.

The English and the Americans are often cast as the cultural oppressors, yet they themselves are far from immune to cultural insecurity. Their perennial display of hand-wringing and subsidy-

begging on behalf of the British film industry happens not because Britons are being starved of good films, but because the "Hollywood view of the world" is somehow presented as being morally less good for you than a British view. On the other side, British plays, musicals and actors that "muscle in" on Broadway are greeted with hostility by the American unions and press.

Where jobs are at stake, protectionism is understandable. But where protectionism is hypocritically disguised under a cloak of patriotic outrage, we should apply a simple test: what is in the interests of the consumers? The audience is what matters, not the actors, arts administrators, filmmakers and other vested interests jostling for power and finance. The arts should broaden the mind, not reinforce tribal divisions.

A sterile cultural protectionism is in the ascendant, argues Richard Morrison

# Art's petty patriots

# A Boer day of the jackal?

De Klerk, like de Gaulle, may win his referendum but face a revolt, says R.W. Johnson

I have put the choices before you in this constitutional referendum. If the vote goes against me, I shall resign. God alone knows what will happen then. Power will doubtless fall into the hands of the wild men of the right, aided and abetted by the military. The country will go to the dogs. It will become an international laughing stock, the whipping boy of the UN, and it could well be soon plunged into civil war. But that will hardly be my problem, for I shall no longer be at the helm. So you can vote for me — or chaos.

Thus the rather one-sided choice de Gaulle put to the French in 1958. Now a similar choice, virtually word for word, is being put by President de Klerk to South Africa's white voters.

De Gaulle, brought back to power by the Algerian crisis, used the referendum to run through the new Fifth Republic constitution, but in practice French voters found themselves faced with many questions and only a simple yes or no vote to answer them all. Voting yes meant consigning the Fourth Republic to the dustbin of history and bringing a new republic into being. But the new constitution was so poorly drafted and widely misunderstood that many voters were quite unaware that they were also voting for a drastic reduction in the powers of parliament and a great centralisation of power in the hands of the presidency.

To vote yes also meant a new dispensation for France's African colonies: to vote no there (as Guinea did) meant opting for independence outside the French union. A yes vote gave legitimacy to the virtual coup that had brought de Gaulle to power, and it was also quite clearly a vote for de Gaulle as president in a curious, single-candidate election. To vote yes also meant agreeing to de Gaulle's new policy for Algeria, whatever that was (and no one knew); and for a new and equally unknown Gaullist foreign policy.

Above all, a yes vote was a vote against allowing policy to be made by right-wing crowds and hot-eyed

young colonels in the streets of Algiers or by the street-politics champions of France, the communists — the feared alternative if it came to civil war. To vote yes was a vote for law and order and rule by the constitutional authorities. It was, in a word, a vote to give de Gaulle carte blanche — of which he took full advantage.

F.W. de Klerk's referendum, too, is a barely disguised presidential election ("Vote yes for F.W.", the posters read). It is also a vote to ratify and legitimise the wholesale abandonment of apartheid since 1990, which, whatever de Klerk may say, has come as a breathtaking surprise to most of those who voted him into power (previous leaders had assured them, after all, that the apartheid system was a thousand-year Reich). Voting yes means agreeing that constitutional negotiations should continue, but in effect it also means accepting whatever constitution emerges from them (no draft is offered now and no further referendum is promised when that draft is ready).

A yes vote also means agreeing to an interim government that includes the ANC and perhaps even members of the antedivine South African Communist party.

But de Klerk's ace is the same as de Gaulle's: the almost unimaginable prospect of what a no vote would mean: a Teutonic government set on turning the clock back, leading probably to black insurrection, large-scale violence, mass emigration, economic catastrophe and renewed international isolation. Businessmen are warn-

ing their employees that a no vote will ultimately cost them their jobs, and a vast array of media and sports stars is being paraded before the electorate, all warning of the dread effects of a no vote. South Africa is a country overrun by beauty queens and drum majorettes, and Diane Tilden-Davis — the reigning Miss South Africa and thus the high priestess of this cult — has warned of a no vote leading to renewed "beauty sanctions", that is of a fresh exclusion from the Miss World and similar contests. It is a moot point whether Saatchi & Saatchi (who are running the yes campaign) is wise to concentrate on these insubstantial themes when such deep white fears lie on the other side.

De Gaulle's opponents on the right and in the army had matured politically in the belief that a majority of Frenchmen would always support *Algérie française*. De Gaulle's referendums simply syphoned them down, proving to them over and over again that he had popular majorities on his side. De Klerk is attempting a similar feat against opponents who find it hard to believe that resistance to black majority rule is not a permanent winning card in white

South African politics. De Klerk will win, but he will then face a similar difficulty to de Gaulle's, that his opponents, concluding they cannot win at the ballot box, will turn to other means.

In Algeria and France this produced several years of OAS terrorism and assassination plots against de Gaulle. But the South African far right has a far larger and better armed constituency than the OAS, and thanks to experience in the mining industry a large number of its supporters are trained in the use of explosives. If South Africa has to live through its own "day of the jackal" the carnage could dwarf anything that France or Algeria experienced. In the end the Algerian *colons* could, however unhappily, migrate back to France. No such option is available for the frightened and often poor South African whites who will vote no. This makes it important not only that de Klerk should win big tomorrow, but that such a victory should be followed by the most imaginative gestures of sympathy and reassurance towards the no voters that de Klerk — and Mandela — can devise.

The author is in South Africa researching a book.

It means agreeing to universal franchise and thus to black majority rule within the foreseeable future, and to the sweeping measures of economic redistribution and social change that are likely to follow. (Nelson Mandela, anxious to help the yes vote, has sought to "reassure" white civil servants by promising them early retirement on full pensions, that is, by confirming that they will lose their jobs. Meanwhile inflation is a steady 16 per cent and pensions are not indexed.)

Among whites voting yes there is a quite remarkable resignation about the fact that this may be the last time their votes will count for much at all. For despite much brave public talk of a golden future, white morale is shaky and somewhat battered as what Nadine Gordimer has called "the last great colonial extravaganza" reels to its end.

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## Cannons to the right

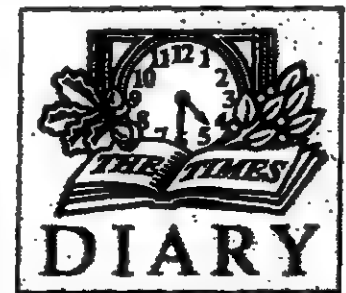
ONLY days into the election campaign, the simmering dispute about Europe on the Tory right has burst into the open. Graham Mather, general director of the free-market Institute of Economic Affairs, has handed in his notice and will leave within three months, ending six months of civil warfare in the think-tank. He is planning to set up a new think-tank, the London Institute for Economic and Policy Studies.

Accused by some of his colleagues of allying himself too closely to Majorism, Mather fought off an attempt last August to unseat him led by Lord Harris of High Cross, founder president of the institute and a founder member of the Bruges Group, the anti-federalist organisation whose president is Mrs Thatcher.

Mather tells the *Diary*: "The peace deal last August failed. The dispute continued. The Bruges Group contingent has been sniping away at me. Some of them will regard my going as a victory. It is a Pyrrhic one. The Bruges Group vision of Europe is yesterday's agenda. I want to be associated with tomorrow's."

Lord Harris believed that since Mrs Thatcher's fall Mather had allowed the government to influence the IEA rather than the other way round. The internal rows began after Mather's public criticism of a letter to *The Times* by six economists, including Sir Alan Walters and Professor Patrick Minford, calling on Britain to quit the exchange-rate mechanism.

Mather's new think-tank will take a more positive view of a decentralised Europe. It will also look at how to carry the successes of the market into the machinery of government.



John Major's reference on BBC radio yesterday to the "well known Latin Macleod maxim" that the *Budget* cheered the day after it is delivered is not the Budget cheered later, has not met with widespread recognition. The quote is not recognised by Lord Blake, historian of the Tory party, nor by Sir Nigel Fisher, who wrote a biography of Macleod, nor by Lady Macleod, the MP's widow. Tory Central Office can't help. Can you?

BRITISH RAIL has discovered a simple way of stopping leaves clogging up its rail services this autumn: it is chopping down the trees. The axe has already been

They're getting rid of leaves on the line



## Quick on the trigger

WHEN Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands was asked to open one of the flagships exhibitions at this year's Edinburgh Festival the organisers did not expect an answer for weeks. But only 30 minutes after receiving it, Dutch royal aides telephoned to say yes.

Dianne Stein, of Corporate Arts Planning, which pulled off the coup, says: "It was simply itself. We telephoned the Dutch embassy and they called back to say her majesty would be delighted."

There could be a hidden reason for the Dutch alacrity. The exhibition, *Dutch Art and Scotland: a Reflection of Taste*, opens on August 12, otherwise known as the Glorious Twelfth, and Prince Bernhard is a keen shooter.

COULD Ian Botham and Graham Gooch be the Tories' secret weapon? John Major is hoping to cash in on England's predicted victory in the cricket World Cup by hosting a Downing Street reception for the team when it returns to Britain two weeks before polling.

Downing Street is being coy about the timing of the reception. A spokeswoman says: "He will be delighted to see them but whether it is immediately or in the future I couldn't say." But as the English domestic season will start only a week after polling day, scattering the players around the country, it would almost certainly have to take place before the campaign ends.

So would an England win help the cricket-loving Major? Ted Dexter, chairman of the England selectors, says: "The whole of England is keeping its fingers crossed for the team. Whatever effect that has on the nation I hope it is a positive one." He refuses to amplify but as Dexter once stood as a Tory candidate against Jim Callaghan in 1964 his meaning could not be clearer.

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## Curses

EDWARD KENNEDY may hope for a touch of respectability from his forthcoming marriage to Victoria Reggie, a partner in a Washington law firm. If so, he should have looked deeper into the family closet. Victoria's father, Edmund, who ran the presidential campaigns of Jack and Robert Kennedy, is under federal indictment for fraud in connection with the 1986 collapse of a Louisiana savings and loan bank. He has denied illegally benefiting from loans.

The bride's mother, Doris, also has a Kennedy connection. She went to New York 12 years ago to nominate Edward as Democratic presidential candidate. All other Louisiana delegates tried to persuade her to support Jimmy Carter so that his vote from the southern states would be unanimous. She held out stoically to make Carter's tally 54-1. Doris says: "Teddy withdrew at the convention but there was no way I wasn't going to vote for him."

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## AMERICA'S RISKY COURSE

President Saddam Hussein has set the Western allies a trap. He is daring President Bush to launch a military strike against Iraq, a strike to enforce United Nations resolutions on the destruction of Scud missile factories and other "weapons of mass destruction". It is a challenge he cannot lose. If Mr Bush, after the dispatch of an aircraft carrier to the Gulf and publicised warnings to Baghdad, now shirks a confrontation, Saddam will have humiliated him. If the Americans do bomb him, Saddam has nothing to lose and much to gain from a world weary of this confrontation and tempted to regard Kuwait as an imbrogio best forgotten.

Despite the tough warning given to Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi deputy prime minister, by the security council last week, Saddam is still flaunting his defiance. True to his pattern of evasion, obstruction and prevarication, he is arguing that the Scud factories should not be destroyed but converted into civilian use. Compliance with the UN is the worst option for the Iraqi dictator. Full co-operation with the UN inspection teams would mean watching Iraq's missiles and underground factories, after surviving more than a month of allied bombing, being systematically blown up from the West and hidden from view, would be revealed and dismantled. This would be humiliating, though even this would not topple him. A man who can survive defeat in the Gulf war can survive the loss of a few missile sites.

Defiance offers him a better way out. If, as he appears to believe, President Bush is too preoccupied by the election campaign to risk a military adventure whose outcome is unpredictable, Saddam can boast to his people — with some credibility — that he is indestructible. He could not be removed by force and nobody now dares take him on again. If President Bush is goaded to launch

a strike, Saddam can again play the role of the Arab martyr, the victim of Western aggression. He will appeal to frustrated fundamentalism in North Africa and Jordan, and use the confusion once again to crack down on the Kurds and other enemies at home. He knows that a bombing campaign will be less effective at detecting and destroying secret arsenals and laboratories than foreign inspectors armed with Iraqi blueprints.

Saddam is also right in calculating that renewed hostilities pose a fearful risk for Mr Bush. If a few Americans are killed or pilots captured and paraded, Mr Bush can expect a torrent of criticism from a country sceptical about the long-term value to American interests of action in the Gulf. Even if fighting is limited and Iraqi targets hit without loss of American lives, President Bush's critics will accuse him of engineering a foreign diversion to cover up his weakness in domestic policy.

General Colin Powell is understood to have expressed reservations. Despite Douglas Hurd's warning that Saddam "will not be allowed to get away with it" similar discreet warnings are probably going out from Downing Street. Britain does not want to be drawn by events into another confrontation during an election campaign; the risks facing Mr Bush face Mr Major also.

The dispatch of USS America to the Gulf was intended to increase the pressure on Baghdad a week before the visit of the British-led UN missile inspection team. If the pressure works, all well and good. At best, it could emphasise to Saddam's opponents his continued ostracism and vulnerability to armed attack — possibly with assistance from American special forces. But if it simply raises expectation in the West that a strike will rid the world of him or complete the unfinished business of the war, it is a mistake.

## DRAUGHTSMAN'S CONTRACT

The Times continues its series of editorials on Thatcherism's "forgotten side", the professions. This week, architects; and finally next week, civil servants.

Modern architects are used to being unloved. They are less used to being unemployed. After enjoying in the 1980s one of the biggest building booms this century, the profession is now in the worst recession it can remember. Business has halved in the past two years and a quarter of all Britain's 30,000 native architects are either under-employed or have lost their jobs. Architectural practices have few of the protections of accountants, civil servants or academics, who are institutionally or bureaucratically guarded against recession. Three quarters of all architects work in the private sector. They are the closest to a truly free market profession, "as good as the last commission".

Worse, they are at the mercy of stylistic fashion. This has veered wildly from what are widely seen as the mistakes of the quarter century 1960-85, an era of often shoddy and ugly buildings, reaction against which has taken the form of meticulous planning control. Like roads engineers, architects came to "demand" of politicians costly solutions to simple problems, solutions born of their own intellectual hubris. Popular resentment of the stylistic nihilism and inhumanity of the Modernist style was there long before it was articulated by the Prince of Wales, but he gave the criticism new weight.

Thus a client will not invest heavily in the aesthetics of a new building if he lacks confidence in the quality of the work his money will buy. He will fall back on cheaper tried and tested solutions, less stylish and expensive but "safer". This will tend to downgrade the role of the architect in a project, and encourage design-and-build contracts where the architect is employed as little more than the superficial beautifier of a design by a structural engineer. The profession has never shown remorse for its past inadequacies, sharing with barristers and academics a belief that its practitioners can neither do wrong nor bring their profession into disrepute. A loss of public confidence thus compounds the recession.

Architects have all the panoply of a grand profession — a royal institution, statutory registration, a formal education system — yet cannot escape from their free-market status. Many of the restrictive practices that used to apply have sensibly been jettisoned: fees are no longer fixed, advertising is allowed and architects can double as builders and developers. Desperate attempts are made to protect what is now an archaic education system as a measure of professional status — seven years of training and three sets of examinations — though most of those who employ architects are surprised at their lack of managerial or financial competence. In addition, the project basis of buildings forces most private architects to tout for work. The growth of competitions subjects them to constant audition, involving costly pre-design work to win a contract. Architects are close to that most precarious of trades, acting.

Architects now face a new threat. Their high-Victorian edifice of professional protection is showing its age. The cracks are being chiselled open by their old enemy, the construction industry. Builders hate being bossed about by architects and are now seeking revenge. Several members of the Chartered Institute of Building have formed a pressure group to encourage big clients to use contractor-led design-and-build contracts. These give the contractor overall control: the architect is either hired as a consultant or added to the salaried staff on the contractor's payroll.

The construction industry would like the government to end the statutory registration of architects, which ensures that only those who are professionally qualified can call themselves architects. This legal protection is otherwise afforded only to doctors and lawyers. Builders, surveyors and engineers are not thus protected. Why, they reasonably

ask, should architects be cosseted? Legal protection is no help to clients, only to architects: by protecting the RIBA against a rotten building, all an architect should need to prove is that he (only 7 per cent of architects are women) has liability insurance against faulty work.

Many radical architects accept that the old days are over. As long as they are better at design and management than builders, they will continue to add value to the building process. Design-and-build was popular in the 1970s too, but clients came back to architects after they saw the results. The architect should represent the desire of a client for an attractive building, sometimes in an adversarial relationship with a builder's desire simply to keep down cost. But architects have long been their own worst enemies. Some take a pride in their artistic aversion to cost control and management. In the 1960s and 70s the result was a few well-run London firms taking a lion's share of big contracts, because they could handle planning and deliver on price and time.

What is ironic about the present recession is that both the "battle of the styles", aided by the Prince of Wales, and its impact on public debate, should incline the profession to higher public esteem. The battle has given architecture, producing public interest rarely heard from the mouths of professionals. The rows over the composition of competition judging panels (the Edinburgh gallery); the exclusion of stylistic rivals from comprehensive redevelopments (such as King's Cross and Paternoster Square); the Modernist faction's clever hijacking of Labour's naive arts minister; all show a debate as lively as that between conventional and alternative medicine. There can be no doubt that the quality and appeal of new buildings have improved in the past five years.

But the debate is as much about accountability as style. The successes and failures of architecture are more visible than those of any other profession. As Frank Lloyd Wright said: "The physician can bury his mistakes, the architect can only advise his client to plant vines." The terrible bastion of the Barbican in London, defying humanity in scale, accessibility, materials and utility, is still showered with praise by the architectural establishment: rather like doctors preaching the virtue of applying leeches.

The character of a country, particularly one as old as Britain, is defined as much by its buildings as by its landscapes. The Prince expressed the public's impotent anger at buildings that are not only ugly, but poorly designed for their function. When architects design buildings with walkways on which people fear to walk and with shops that cannot be let, they should be disciplined by their professional body. Architects cannot expect to be treated as other professions, to be left to make their own mistakes at risk of nothing more than a negligence suit. Their work is too public. Democracy will always seek control through the planning machine.

Enlightened architects are now taking their designs more often to public consultation. All political parties might adopt at least some of the ideas in this respect that Labour has already mooted, including the notion that all big projects should go out to competition. (The public should be as able to judge such competitions as self-appointed panels of architects.) From the revivalist to the Modern Movement, from the neo-classical to the vernacular, modern British architecture is as diverse and as exciting as any in Europe. This is the result of vigorous argument between architect and public. That argument should continue, regulated within the confines of the democratic planning system. On this basis, there is no reason why the profession should not emerge more popular, as well as leaner and fitter, from the present recession.

## Recycled water in time of drought

From Sir Hugh Fish

Sir, On reading today's report on the National Rivers Authority's discussion paper on water resources ("Canals earmarked to switch water to dry south") I was impressed that the NRA has opened up the possibilities for providing more water supply without drawing significantly further on already overtaxed natural resources.

For many years I have advocated greater re-use of water, including enhancement of that re-use by transferring water along selected rivers and canals, as suggested by the NRA. Such schemes would make a major contribution to what is now known as "sustainable development" of the aquatic environment.

One possibility is as follows. The water ples are currently investing heavily in better purification of sewage before disposal to rivers; this, inter alia, should result in the lower reaches of the Yorkshire rivers, the Mersey and the Trent becoming suitable for general water supply use.

Instead of losing this water to the sea, as at present, much of it could be transferred via rivers and canals from the north into the basins of the Thames, the Great Ouse and the Essex rivers. Using the new tunnel ring-main now nearing completion by Thames Water plc, new supply of potable water into Kent would be possible.

The Thames provides an outstanding example of the benefits that can be derived along a river system from the abstraction of water for supply, and return of the used water for re-abstraction downstream. My assessment is that this arrangement, during a severe drought, results in almost a complete re-use of the water, and that the added value of this re-use roughly equals the cost of sewage treatment in the basin of the freshwater river.

Thus water supply use of the river is maximised and the costs of keeping the river clean are minimised. Surely we need more of this.

Yours sincerely,

HUGH FISH  
(Member, National Rivers Authority, 1989-91),  
Red Roods, Newbury Road,  
Shefford Woodlands,  
Newbury, Berkshire,  
March 12.

From Mr R. I. Millchamp

Sir, The proposal to transfer bulk water supplies to the southern and eastern counties of England from the north and west, if it materialises, should take into account the desirability of using all, or part, of the supply to recharge the grossly over-exploited underground aquifers that used to provide a considerable proportion of the water for the area.

This would have a number of beneficial effects: it would help neutralise the semi-acid waters from the exporting areas, lead to the rebirth of many dried-up streams, and would do away with the need to build extra reservoirs to meet the extra storage requirement.

Perhaps, most important, it could save money.

Yours faithfully,

R. I. MILLCHAMP,  
4 King Street,  
Aberystwyth, Dyfed,  
March 12.

## Budget response

From Mr Bill Abbotts

Sir, A year ago the government produced a "do nothing" Budget in the face of a recession whose existence they denied. This year, in a deep slump, which they acknowledge to be the longest since the war, they have done even less. After weeks of teasing glimpses, the veil has finally fallen away to reveal the smallest, dampest squib imaginable.

Mr Major spoke of the Budget as a "trigger" for recovery. With such a tiny trigger, we are going to need a microscope to see the gun, and a stethoscope to hear the bang (instruments which we can all now afford to import, thanks to the roughly £3 a week the Chancellor has thoughtfully provided for the purpose).

Yours etc.

BILL ABBOTTS (Managing Director,  
Abbott (UK) Limited,  
Mortimers Lane, Foxon, Cambridge.

From Mr T. H. Hughes-Davies

Sir, A married man with £15,700 from occupational and state retirement pensions which he cannot split will now have a taxable income of £10,535. One with the same income from investments which he can share will recover two age allowances and his wife's personal allowance. The joint taxable income is then £5,580.

One will pay £2,534, the other £1,295; and the discrepancy will increase as the married allowance is withdrawn. Will any party promise equity?

Yours sincerely,

T. H. HUGHES-DAVIES,  
Bramore Marsh,  
Fordingbridge, Hampshire.

From Mr Michael Webber

Sir, While watching Mr Lamont delivering his Budget speech my two-and-a-half-year-old granddaughter, Sophie, asked: "Who is that?" When my wife told her that that was one of our masters she replied: "The Master's lost his fiddling stick and doesn't know what to do".

Yours truly,

MICHAEL WEBBER,  
The Garden Flat,  
19 Netherhall Gardens, NW3.

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

1 Pennington Street, London E1 9XN Telephone 071-782 5000

### MPs, Maxwell and the law of libel

From Mr Stephen Hugh-Jones

Sir, Frank Field, MP, wishes newspaper editors had "been prepared to stand up to Robert Maxwell's... legal attacks" (report, March 10).

Would MPs express their views quite so freely if, like newspapers, they had to do it at the risk of £1 million or so under Britain's lopsided libel law; a law whose abuses are as many and as crude as Mr Maxwell's, and far more public — and against which no Parliament in decades has lifted a finger?

After the 1974 financial crisis, I wrote for *The Economist*, a then small magazine, an article, quite unassuming, which was yet deemed libellous not by one but by six millionaires. One fully deserved his apology. One ultimately changed his mind when he learned what we — by then I could have written about him. One was later convicted under companies law. One fled justice to California.

But those later events were of no help at the time. Only the negotiating skills of *The Economist's* then editor saved it from a visit to the cleaners.

Nor will insurers meet the bill if lawyers have advised against publication. We all know about Robert Maxwell — now Mr Field is asking others to have the courage of his after-the-event convictions, before the event and at their expense.

Yours etc.

STEPHEN HUGH-JONES,  
97 Abbey House,  
Garden Road, NW8,  
March 11.

From Mr George Rose

Sir, The current state of hand-wringing by the authorities with regard to the plight of the Maxwell pensioners is a most disagreeable sight. However, there is at least a

possibility that those who stood by while Maxwell made off with the funds may be brought to book.

The Financial Services Act provides, by section 61(1), that the secretary of state (in the person of the Securities and Investments Board) may bring proceedings not only against the malefactor, but also against any third party "knowingly concerned" in the illegal operation. The purpose of the section is to afford restitution to investors who would previously not have had any recourse against anyone other than the rogue.

This remedy would appear to extend to any third party — for example, solicitors, brokers, banks, accountants and auditors. It at least extends to solicitors (*SIB v. Pantell*, *The Times* Law Report, August 13, 1991).

If there is merit in this approach we may yet hear the beating of wings as the chickens come home to roost.

Yours faithfully,

GEORGE ROSE (Publisher),  
*The Lawyer's Diary*,  
15a Grove Road,  
Sutton, Surrey,  
March 12.

From Ms W. M. Miller

Sir, Mr Robert Rhodes, QC (letter, March 12) misses a salient point in his letter about Maxwell pensioners. Barlow Clowes investors could choose any haven for their money, whereas Maxwell pensioners were required by law to invest in his pension fund.

I am a member of staff of British International Helicopters and now face destitution as a result of Mr Maxwell's actions, which were facilitated by fuzzy legislation and indolent regulators.

Yours faithfully,  
WENDY MILLER,  
88 Pinewood Gardens,  
North Cove, Beccles, Suffolk.

### Coal staff pensions

From Mr Kevan Hunt

Sir, The sympathy which is extended to the Maxwell pensioners is well-deserved. Your readers should not, however, be misled by the letter from Mr B. W. Hancock (March 12) into believing that members of the British Coal staff superannuation scheme (BCSSS) are in a similar position.

For 40 years, until 1987, British Coal contributed about double the members' contributions. In addition, to meet deficits which occurred in the 1970s the BCC (British Coal Corporation) paid a total of £351 million into the scheme. A surplus which arose in 1983 was used wholly to improve contributors' benefits, whilst three years later a further surplus was split between a contribution "holiday" for BCC and substantial benefit improvements for contributors.

One third of the 1990 surplus was, indeed, used to extend the holiday; however, the remaining two thirds — some £500 million — was used to benefit pensioners and contributors.

The BCSSS has been generously funded over the years by BCC. This, together with excellent investment

performance, has given rise to recent surpluses. There was previously no obligation on BCC to use any part of these surpluses to benefit scheme members. Under the rules as they then applied, the whole surplus could have been used; but, at the request of the committee of management, BCC agreed to amend these rules to ensure members have a right to at least 50 per cent of any future surplus.

The committee of management which proposed those changes is made up of four trades unions' nominees and four BCC nominees. Moreover, of the eight trustees, four are themselves scheme pensioners, including the chairman. It is difficult to see how it can be suggested that such a committee acts at the behest of the corporation.

The scheme has operated successfully over the past 45 years because all the trustees have had a common aim: the provision of excellent retirement benefits for its members.

Yours faithfully,  
K. HUNT  
(Employee Relations Director),  
British Coal Corporation,  
Eastwood Hall,  
Eastwood, Nottingham,  
March 12.

### Aid for Albania

From the Executive Director of Feed the Children

Sir, Your report (March 11) from James Pettifer, "Dispirited Albania prepares to vote", highlighted something that this relief agency has been saying since our first visit to Albania last spring. It is the entire population that needs aid, and many of these people live in highlands and mountains far from towns and warehouses. Seventy five per cent of Albania is mountainous.

Feed the Children has already delivered over £2 million worth of aid direct to institutions, but more importantly to small village communities where people know each other and looking does not take place. A mutually trusting relationship is developing. Indeed, these people are so desperate to be included in our aid programme that one mayor and his colleagues walked for seven hours to the nearest road and then travelled to Tirana to seek our help.

The tension in the towns is likely to increase up to and past the March 22 election. Whoever wins faces a massive task. It is, however, only by taking the aid direct, by piecemeal delivering along mountain paths and trails, that the aid will begin to make a real change.

Yours faithfully,

DAVID H. W. GRUBBS,  
Feed The Children,  
1 Priory Avenue, Caversham,  
Reading, Berkshire.

### Labour and Europe

From the Leader of the European Parliamentary Labour Party

Sir, Labour has been anything but silent on Europe as Robin Oakley remarks in his Political Notebook (March 5). Over the past year, Labour members in both the European and the Westminster Parliament have put immense energy into building a truly European policy.

Front-bench MPs are frequent visitors to Brussels: only last week a team of nine, led by Labour's European spokesman, George Robertson, MP, were at the European Parliament for a series of top level meetings with EC officials.

We have shouted from the rooftops our intentions to sign up for the

Social Chapter, undoing John Major's Maastricht dirty work and putting the UK on course as an EC front-runner.

We make no secret that we are in the party for Europe. If anyone is keeping silent, it is those journalists who, by taking a UK-centred view, choose to ignore the very real advances Labour is making on the European stage.

Yours faithfully,  
GLYN FORD, Leader,  
European Parliamentary  
Labour Party,  
2 Queen Anne's Gate, SW1.

Letters to the editor should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be sent to a fax number — (071) 782 5046.

### Nile obelisks far from home

From Mr Michael Davies

Sir, Your leading article on the failure of an international conference in Cairo to agree on measures to restore the Sphinx ("The Rocky Horror Show", March 4) is a timely reminder of longstanding and glaring gaps in the three greatest temples along the Nile — those at Luxor, Karnak and Philae.

Giant obelisks were removed from each of the three during the last century and came to reside in London ("Cleopatra's Needle", Paris (Place de la Concorde) and Kingston Lacy, Dorset. Weighing hundreds of tons, they are not examples of the small or common objects (tables, carvings, statues, mummies etc) that found their way into museums and private collections round the world: nor are they like the Elgin marbles, which have undoubtedly been saved from the pollution which still eats away the Parthenon. They were an integral part of huge temple complexes, each originally one of a pair standing either side of an entrance through a massive gateway into a vast colonnaded hypostyle hall.

A small plaque at Abu Simbel commemorates that temple's relocation with the help of Unesco in the 1960s, reminding us that, though situated in Egypt, it is part of the inheritance of man and belongs to all mankind. Likewise, these obelisks.

What better way to celebrate the 70th anniversary of Howard Carter's discovery of Tutankhamun's tomb than to agree to return these lonely and alien obelisks to their proper sites?

Yours faithfully,  
M. S. DAVIES,  
The Forest, Bensenden,  
Crabbrook, Kent.

From Dr Bent Juel-Jensen

Sir, Napoleon has a lot to answer for, but evidence in support of the claim made in your leader that his soldiers used the Sphinx for target practice is lacking.

The "Afro-centrist pseudo-scholars in the United States" to whom you refer would get a nasty shock were they to look at the superb statues by C. M. Tuschert in Norden's *Voyage d'Egypte et de Nubie* (Copenhagen, 1755), published well after the death of both author and artist. That of the Sphinx shows that the nose had gone by the 1740s. Napoleon is usually thought to have been born in 1769.

Yours faithfully,  
BENT JUEL-JENSEN,  
Mendocott Cottage,  
56 Old High Street,  
Headington, Oxford.

### Passenger's charter

From Dr David Lawson

Sir, Comments that BR passenger charter (report, March 4) will cost more than £10 million surely miss the point. So do comments that the standards set are too low.

The idea behind the charter must, be not to have to pay compensation because the standards are being met; and then to improve the standards. The critical point is not the need nor the desire for improvement; nor is it the level of compensation to be paid. It is whether BR management have the detailed practical plans in place to bring about the long-term improvement, not merely by spending more capital but also by looking in depth at systems and procedures and by harnessing and structuring the skills, knowledge and enthusiasm of all its employees.

Quality management can bring about dramatic improvements in customer service in large service organisations, just as in manufacturing industry. One long-haul train in the USA, starting in Kansas City and going to Tallahassee, Florida, ran two to four hours late.

After quality management had been implemented in the company the train has been consistently on time for the past six months. A similar improvement in BR service would avoid the need for any compensation payments.

Yours faithfully,  
DAVID LAWSON, Director,  
Crosby Associates UK Limited,  
Centenary House, PO Box 54,  
5 Hill Street, Richmond, Surrey.

From Mr Hugh David

Sir, Whom is the passenger's charter supposed to "enfranchise"? I am just getting used to station announcements which call me a customer.

Yours,  
HUGH DAVID,  
37d Albert Square, SW8.

### Lost chord

From the Dean of Ely

Sir, A curse on the Tory party for choosing Henry Purcell's Rondeau as their election theme tune (Diary, March 9).

The organ version is one of my favourite voluntaries. Now we must ban it in the cathedral, in order to maintain our strict party political neutrality. What a loss!

With all good wishes,  
Yours faithfully,  
MICHAEL HIGGINS,  
Chapter House, The College,  
Ely, Cambridgeshire.

From Mrs P. J. K. McDowell

Sir, Purcell's Rondeau? Maybe also allegra, pianeto and obeau?

Yours truly,  
PAMELA McDOWELL,  
Llwynderw, Hafod Road,  
Gwernymynydd, Mold, Clwyd.







Little need be said of the work of the Chief Engineer of the Metropolitan Board in other directions. Except within the City limits he had charge of all the bridges crossing the Thames as far west as Hammersmith. For the design of the new Battersea-bridge, the responsibility is his. Among his latest works in this direction may be mentioned the Woolwich Ferry.



## BY KERRY GILL

**Obituary, page 15**

**Leading article, page 13**

**Coming home:** Bob Olley polishes his bronze of the furrow-browed Stan Laurel on the banks of the Tyne. The 9 ft statue will stand in Dockwray Square, North Shields, where the comedian, who died in 1965, lived for ten years before crossing the Atlantic

Labour governments. To justify their claim that Labour's tax plans were not unduly

comparisons. Labour economists have used changes in

larger number of dolphins  
out there which are being

stomachs have shown no signs of pollution or a virus."

The entire 70,000 population of Leninsk hangs on resolution of the dispute between the newly independent states.

**WORD-WATCHING**  
A daily safari through the  
usage jungle. Which definitions  
are correct?

**By Philip Howard**  
**PUBLICALS**

**DOWN**

- 2 Talk about noise on the line! (8)
- 3 Sudden demand for jogging on the towpath (3,2,3,4)
- 4 Impractical fellow (8)
- 5 House is shut up by his orders (7)
- 6 Pinafore may have been secured by it (6)
- 7 The woman in Genesis (4)
- 8 Christ Church fellows stunned

Concise Crossword, page 9  
Life & Times section

London & SE  
C London (within N & S Circs  
M ways/roads M4-M1  
M-ways/roads M1-Dartford T  
M-ways/roads Dartford T-M23  
M-ways/roads M23-M4  
M25 London Orbital only  
National  
National motorways  
West Country  
Wales  
Midlands  
East Angles  
North-west England  
North-east England  
Scotland  
Northern Ireland

**AA Roadwatch is charged 1 minute (cheap rate) and 48p**

**HIGHEST & LOWEST**

Gumbrie & Lake District.....	71
SW Scotland.....	72
W Central Scotland.....	72
Edin S File/Lothian & Borders.....	72
E Central Scotland.....	72
Grampian & E Highlands.....	72
N W Scotland.....	72
Caithness,Orkney & Shetland.....	72
N Ireland.....	72

Weathercall is charged at 36p per minute (cheap rate) and 48p per minute at all other times.

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1X



Bankers will inspect figures closely before lending more to Sorrell

# Signs point to halving of profit at WPP Group

BY MARTIN WALLER

MARTIN Sorrell, chief executive of WPP Group, will today present another gloomy account of the state of the battered advertising industry when he announces halved 1991 profits from the world's largest marketing combine.

Lorna Tibbani at Warburg Securities is looking for £43 million pre-tax from WPP, down from £90 million. The City range is a surprisingly wide £35 to £60 million.

WPP is largely the creation of Mr Sorrell, whose aim of building the world's biggest advertising group was fulfilled with the £351 million purchase of J Walter Thompson, probably the best known name in the industry, in 1987 and the £508 million purchase in 1989 of Ogilvy & Mather.

But this last acquisition sowed the seeds of Mr Sorrell's difficulties.

It came just ahead of the biggest downturn in advertising for decades and saddled the group with massive debts, precluding the payment of dividends on the preference and ordinary shares.

Scrutinising the 1991 figures today with perhaps even more care than the analysts will be WPP's bankers, waiting to commit themselves to lending fresh money to the company, according to banking sources.

WPP presented to bankers the budget for 1992 last month, but they are thought to have asked for more details, including cash forecasts.

Last April WPP refinanced some \$1 billion debt and received \$80 million in new facilities. Bankers are still convinced the company will need further borrowings some time this year and are unsure only as to how much is needed and whether they will be called on sooner or later.

WPP's figures will come less than a week after full-year figures from the industry's second biggest player, Saatchi & Saatchi, which announced a £62.3 million loss attributable to shareholders in 1991 after a raft of provisions reflecting redundancies, falling property values and closures.

Mr Sorrell may choose to follow Saatchi in setting up a profits-related executive bonus scheme aimed at what is seen as one of the industry's main problems, bloated salary bills. He also has the option of disposals to cut debt, for example of the Scala McCabe Sloves agency which has been up for sale for some time, or flotations of the market research side or the Far Eastern advertising interests.



Posting profits for 1991: Martin Sorrell must please his bankers

## Sun City man aims to put Southern Africa back on the tourist map

BY JON ASHWORTH

SOL Kerzner, the man who built Sun City, is Southern Africa's most controversial businessman. He is liked and disliked in equal measure.

His critics point to his brash business manner and opulent lifestyle, to his short-lived marriage to Annette Kriel, a former Miss World, and to the warrant for his arrest issued by the Transkei over the alleged payment of a R2 million (£400,000) bribe.

To his fans, he is South Africa's most famous celebrity. He is the man who built the Southern Sun range of hotels, who introduced gambling to the region with his Sun International resort chain in the nominally independent black homelands,

and who turned the republic's leisure industry on its head. He is the man who created thousands of jobs in rural black areas and who rubs shoulders with film stars and tycoons.

Love him or hate him, all agree on one thing. Mr Kerzner is a creative business genius, and his new project, the R800 million Lost City, is about to put Southern Africa back on the tourist map.

The Lost City is in the middle of the bushveld two hours' drive from Johannesburg, and opens in December. The high point is a 350-room luxury hotel called the Palace, which is designed to resemble an ancient city long abandoned by an African tribe.

Guests will emerge from the present Sun City complex on to a raised platform, surrounded by cliffs under the watchful gaze of a huge leopard carved out of stone.

The hotel with its domes and towers will rise into view on the hilltop beyond like a mirage, shimmering in the heat as 10 million litres of water an hour circulate around it. Simulated earthquakes will shake the platform as lava pours down rock faces near by, and 7,000 trees are being transplanted to create three kinds of forest.

The enlarged Sun City will be reminiscent of Disney World in Florida — but with slot machines rather than theme rides. The complex will have two golf courses, water sports and water rides, jungles and aviaries, hotel accommodation for 3,000, and conference facilities for 2,500.

The Lost City is proving an expensive investment for Sun International (Bophuthatswana) which runs Sun City and several other resorts in the homeland. Rooms at the Palace will cost from R800 a night, and SunBop will need to fill them if it hopes to recoup its money.

As a counterpoint, the R350 million Caracal resort opened in November half an hour's drive north of Pretoria. It is aimed at day-trippers, and has the biggest casino in the southern hemisphere. It is hoped that it will bring in the cash DunBop needs.

Gaming is banned in South Africa but permitted in the homelands, and the Sun International resorts in Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei have been quick to cash in. But the growth of illegal gambling in the republic, and fears that gaming may be legalised there, have encouraged Sun International to shift its focus — hence the Lost City, with its emphasis on water sports and luxury accommodation, and the Caracal which has shops, restaurants and cinemas to complement the gambling.

Mr Kerzner, who is the chairman of SunBop, moved to Britain in 1983 but is virtually unknown outside the expatriate South African community. His new company, World Leisure, owns three resorts in Mauritius and two resorts in the Comoros off the east African coast.

Mr Kerzner has just returned from a scouting trip to Argentina. A flotation on the London Stock Exchange is on the cards. "I'm quite happy with the idea of a stock market listing," he says.

While a luxurious home near Henley-on-Thames, Buckinghamshire, is now his world base, Mr Kerzner is rarely there to enjoy it. He spends much of his time flying round the world.

Mr Kerzner does not out a figure likely to appeal to the average institutional investor. His first serious attempt to branch out from his South African roots came in 1986 when Sun International teamed up with John Gurn's British & Commonwealth to form Royale Resorts.

Strapped for cash, B&C sold its stake in 1988 and Mr Kerzner later resigned. In 1985, he took a 40 per cent stake in Kunick Leisure. He sold out two years later, and the demise of B&C seemed to shatter his plans to build an offshore empire. Now, with World Leisure, he is having another crack.

## RTZ gives blueprint for new gold field

RTZ Corporation and Niugini Mining today submit to the Papua New Guinea government a \$767 million development proposal for the Lihir gold project in Papua New Guinea. Lihir is the largest known undeveloped gold deposit outside South Africa.

Tough local conditions and the outlook for the gold price would weigh heavily on any final decision to mine.

Mining within Papua New Guinea in recent years has received international attention. RTZ has written off its share of the copper-gold mine on the neighbouring island of Bougainville. The property is all but deserted because of arson attacks.

High rock temperatures at Lihir and associated environmental conditions would present challenging conditions for development. RTZ has an 80 per cent interest in the project, and PNG-registered Niugini the balance. The proposals for Lihir are based on a mine life of 32 years. Production could begin in mid-1995. Output could reach 620,000 ounces of gold annually during the first 13 years of full production.

## Final offer for Wilkes

Petrocon Group, embroiled in a hard-fought takeover battle with fellow engineer James Wilkes, has declared its £28 million offer final.

The bid battle, essentially over management, has been marked by accusations, counter-accusations and allegations of dirty tricks. Petrocon is offering 13 shares for every three in Wilkes and says the bid will not be extended beyond March 30 unless it has succeeded, or an extension would enable it to gain recommendation from the Wilkes board.

At Friday's market close Petrocon was valued at 151p, against a closing price for Wilkes of 163p.

## US-made car sales revive

Sales of American-made vehicles rose 14 per cent in the first two weeks of March, giving rise to guarded optimism among American car manufacturers that the worst of the recession might be over. Most of the increase came in sales to individual retail customers. Sales of cars rose 9.4 per cent to 142,943 for the first ten days of March, compared with the same period last year.

However, some dealers reported that demand was erratic. Japanese companies are sceptical that the increase will continue. Toyota saw a 37.3 per cent gain, but Honda increased by under 1 per cent. The share of the home market for Chrysler, General Motors and Ford continues to drop — from 85.7 per cent to 85.4 per cent.

## Devaluation risk puts pressure on market defences

Within the past few weeks, the gilt market has finally delivered its verdict on the Tories' re-election chances. From being rather overconfident of an outright victory for the Conservatives, the market has moved to a much more honest assessment of the political standings of the main parties and their prospects for April 9.

On the face of it, the market's fall was precipitated by the Budget announcement of a £28 billion PSBR for 1992-3. This figure takes gross gilt issuance for the next financial year to £3 billion a month.

But how much worse is this than expected? The gilt market had taken account of gilt issuance of £2.5 billion a month next year, is the odd few hundred million pounds extra raised by another tranche or by increasing auction size going to make much difference? Besides, the Treasury could always allocate the proceeds of any new bond issues to financing the PSBR, rather than to reserves.

Assume, for the moment, a Conservative election victory and a recovery in gilt prices. Commentators are fond of saying that in a bull phase new issues are easily absorbed. If this has been true in the past, it must certainly be so in future. Given the increasing globalisation of bond markets, and the currency stability provided by the ERM, the overseas investor will ensure demand does not flag if gilts are to keep pace with other European bonds.

Further, with European economies still set to slow later this year, and with British inflation set to fall below 4 per cent, underlying conditions appear ripe for the sort of movement that would make light of the British funding requirements.

Yes, the PSBR forecasts were an unpleasant surprise to the market, and yes, the funding regime is onerous. However, the market's main problem is clearly not the level of the PSBR itself, but the growing acceptance of the hung parliament scenario as the most likely election outcome.

If the market had considered the Chancellor's tax measures as significant vote winners, the higher PSBR would have attracted much less attention. As it is, there are grave doubts whether these measures will do anything to deliver the required number of votes to the Tories.

The market has therefore only itself to blame for the abrupt rise in yields, in not

accepting the reality of the electoral situation earlier. It is not only opinion polls that have habitually pointed to a hung parliament on-line betting services, which make prices on the number of seats won by each party at the election, have been indicating "no overall control" almost permanently over the past year.

If all the indicators continue to point to a hung parliament this month, gilts will have to face up to the possibility of further negative influences, particularly sterling weakness and the threat of a post-election devaluation. To preserve sterling within the present ERM bands, interest rates may have to rise by several percentage points if no party receives a clear mandate.

There has been a lot of rhetoric, from both sides of the House, underlining the commitment to a sterling central rate of DM2.95.

However, when politicians are faced with a second election only months away, and heavy downward pressure on the pound, narrow ERM bands at a lower central level may seem a better choice than sharply higher interest rates. They can always blame the City and capricious foreign exchange markets for the run on sterling, but would be pilloried themselves for raising interest rates while Britain is struggling to escape recession.

A sterling realignment, combined with the uncertainty created by a hung parliament, would surely mean that the overseas investors who are critical to the Treasury's funding programme would be scared out of sterling products for the foreseeable future. Domestic investors would not be able to shoulder the burden alone, and gilt yields above 10 per cent would quickly be established across the maturity spectrum.

If over the next month, a falling market/pound exchange rate is combined with the increasing probability of a hung parliament, the gilt market is advised to consider carefully the likelihood of the gloomy scenario outlined above.

Devaluation is no certainty, in fact, the odds may be less than 50:50, even with a hung parliament. However, do investors wish to take the risk? The stakes are high and, if the worst does happen, the losses are potentially huge. Gilt prices may have to continue moving downwards as a defence against this outcome.

STEPHEN SCOTT  
Kleinwort Benson

## SMALLER COMPANIES

## Award contestants bear the stamp of quality

WHO said interest in smaller companies is dead? Nominations for the various categories in this year's Coopers Deloitte PLC Awards, organised in association with The Times, have flooded in and competition is tougher than ever.

Speculation about the winners, to be named this week, is rife in the City but Graham Cole, corporate finance partner at Coopers & Lybrand Deloitte and a member of the

voting panel, remains tight-lipped.

"We've been delighted by the City's response to this year's awards," Mr Cole said. "The voting slips came in thick and fast and it proved difficult enough for the panel to select shortlists from the large number of runners in each category."

"We are now examining the merits of those who have made it to the second stage. Strength and quality are the common threads running through each category."

"That the UK is the principal beneficiary of this wealth of talent should reassure everybody who works in the country's corporate sector. But I can say that picking the winners will give the members of the panel a few headaches."

Awards will be presented at the Grosvenor House hotel, London, on Thursday. The guest speaker will be Norman Tebbit, the retiring Conservative MP and former trade secretary, whose appearance in an election campaign will doubtless underscore the political element in promoting smaller businesses in the Eighties.

The focus of attention, however, will be the awards themselves. Formerly known as the USM Awards, the event has broader appeal now it is open to smaller companies that boast a full listing and competition is intense. The greatest interest has probably been generated by the Entrepreneur of the Year award, for which there are six



Schild: Huntleigh



Goldman: Sage Group



Crossland: Airtours



Frost: Frost Group



Lever: Lionheart



Moir: Jeyes Group

nominations. They include James Frost, chairman of Frost Group, a petrol retailer that returned to the stock market after being rescued from the collapsed Norfolk House Group; Jimmy Moir, managing director of Jeyes Group, the household hy-

giene company; and David Crossland, chairman of the package holiday group Airtours.

The three other nominations are David Goldman, chairman of The Sage Group, a computer software supplier; Paul Lever, who chairs

Lionheart, a consumer products group; and Rolf Schild, chairman of Huntleigh Technology, the medical equipment group.

There are seven contenders for the Company of the Year award, including Jeyes Group, Lionheart and Hunt-

leigh Technology. Other nominations are Medeva, the fast-growing pharmaceuticals concern; Farepak, the mail order food hamper supplier; and Seton Healthcare and Intercare, both of which are suppliers of healthcare products.

All have shown an ability to consolidate and grow despite deep recession in their markets, and promise to deliver outstanding growth when the economy recovers.

Newcomers to the stock market were a rare breed in 1991 but there are five strong contenders for the New Company of the Year award, including Frost Group. Also nominated are Eurocamp, the camping holiday operator; Harrington Kilbride, a specialist publisher; Clarke Foods, an ice cream maker; and Airbreak Leisure, the tour operator.

Six candidates have been shortlisted for the Analyst of the Year award. They are Geoffrey Douglas and Mary Fleming, of Smith New Court; Penny Freer, of County NatWest; Andrew Holland, of Barclays de Zoete Wedd; John Houlihan, of Hoare Govett; and Mitchell Teager, of Albert E Sharp.

This award was voted on by companies only and will reflect the esteem in which analysts are held by senior executives.

An award will also be presented for the best annual report. Airtours has already been confirmed as the best-performing share; the stock rose by 433 per cent in 1991.

MARTIN BARROW

**Ford**

Following the DIVIDEND DECLARATION by Ford Motor Company (U.S.) on 8 January 1992 NOTICE is now given that the following DISTRIBUTION will become payable on or after 18 March 1992

Gross Distribution per unit	2-0000 Cents
Less 15% USA Withholding Tax	0-3000 Cents
Converted at \$1.725	1-7000 Cents
	20-0088507

Claims should be lodged with the DEPOSITARY: National Westminster Bank PLC, Basement, Juno Court, 24 Prescott Street, London, E1 8BB on special forms obtainable from that Office.

United Kingdom Banks and Members of the Stock Exchange should mark payment of the dividend in the appropriate square on the reverse of the certificate.

All other claimants must complete the special form and present this at the above address together with the certificate(s) for marking by the National Westminster Bank PLC. Postal applications cannot be accepted.

Dated 16 March 1992

## An important announcement to our stockholders:

Copies of the 1991 Annual Report of Citicorp can now be obtained from:-

Citibank, N.A., 336 Strand, London WC2R 1HB, telephone 071-438 1344 between the hours of 9.30am and 4pm Monday to Friday.

Postal applications should be addressed for the attention of Lynne Letts, Corporate Affairs.

**CITIBANK**

Citicorp, 399 Park Avenue, New York, New York 10043 Incorporated in the State of Delaware

**Ordnance Survey**

Appointment of Agents for new OS product

Proposals are invited for the production, management, distribution and marketing of a raster data product based on Ordnance Survey's 1:10 000 map series.

The appointment will be for a period of three years, subject to meeting agreed performance targets.

The specification for proposals can be obtained by writing to:

Peter Staniszewski  
Product Management  
Ordnance Survey  
Romsey Road  
Southampton SO9 4DH  
England  
Fax 0703 792962

The closing date for receipt of proposals is 16 April 1992.



ECONOMIC VIEW

# Labour plant a tax time-bomb under would-be middle class

## Spotlight on the regulators

The City can expect few friends on the hustings. The excesses of the mid-Eighties, when the arrogance of finance seemed to reduce business to a mere playing piece, are over, at least for another few years. The 1987 market crash, high interest rates and bank losses saw to that, and court cases on both sides of the Atlantic exposed the underlying manipulation. The tide of upsets, scandals and frauds has, however, accelerated during the recession. That has heightened the search for scapegoats, not just by perennial critics of the City. The frustrations of pensioners ruined by fraud in the Maxwell affair are matched in fury by names who lost from trading at Lloyd's.

In 1992, however, the spotlight is on regulators rather than on the original lads. The common thread running through BCCI and Blue Arrow is that the Bank of England was not up to scratch. The Maxwell scandal, lacking the chief actor, raises questions about the Occupational Pensions Board and about self-regulation by fund managers.

Questioning of auditors' performance, after big company failures or frauds, has brought demands for regulation of auditors to be independent of the chartered accountancy institutes that also represent them. The losses at Lloyd's, for which some names suspect dirty dealing, has brought louder calls for outside regulation of the insurance market, or at least separation of the regulation of practitioners from running the market, as happened at the London Stock Exchange. In these last cases, reformers have heaved the Labour party on board.

Not surprisingly, the call has gone up again for a British version of America's Securities and Exchange Commission. Labour, for instance, wants to turn the Securities and Investments Board into an agency of the DTI. The SEC has attractions, at least as a concept. It is independent of the industries it regulates, perhaps because it became an industry in its own right, and generally independent of government. More than independence, the SEC has powers of prosecution and discovery, publicises its police actions, and uses these to impose big fines and out-of-court settlements that contrast in speed and effectiveness with London's lumbering overkill. But is the model really an attractive one? The Bosky and Milken cases were treated decisively by the SEC, but the SEC failed to forestall the manipulation, which was on a much greater scale than in Britain and crippled swathes of American industry. Its independence, which absolves it from any duty to promote America's securities industry, also spawned burdens of regulation and paperwork that, until recent reforms, inflicted untold damage on New York as an international financial centre.

The Bank of England is independent of the system it supervises, but has been criticised for confusing its regulatory function with its desire to promote British banking. Its deficiencies lie in other directions. Banking supervision rates only 30 pages in John Florde's revealing 800-page study *The Bank of England and Public Policy 1941-58*. Times were simpler then, but the legacy of regarding supervision as a subsidiary activity has survived the traumatic subsequent changes. Mr Florde also notes that the Bank saw itself as the intermediary between Whitehall and the banking system. This continuing role, promoting Whitehall's desire for competition and deregulation, surely influenced its supervisors in recent episodes. After Maastricht, the Bank's independence of government in monetary policy may be irrelevant, but independence may be vital to its regulatory role. Indeed, it may be far more important for regulators to operate at arm's length from government than from their industry so that government can act as the people's critic of regulators, rather than their proprietorial apologist.

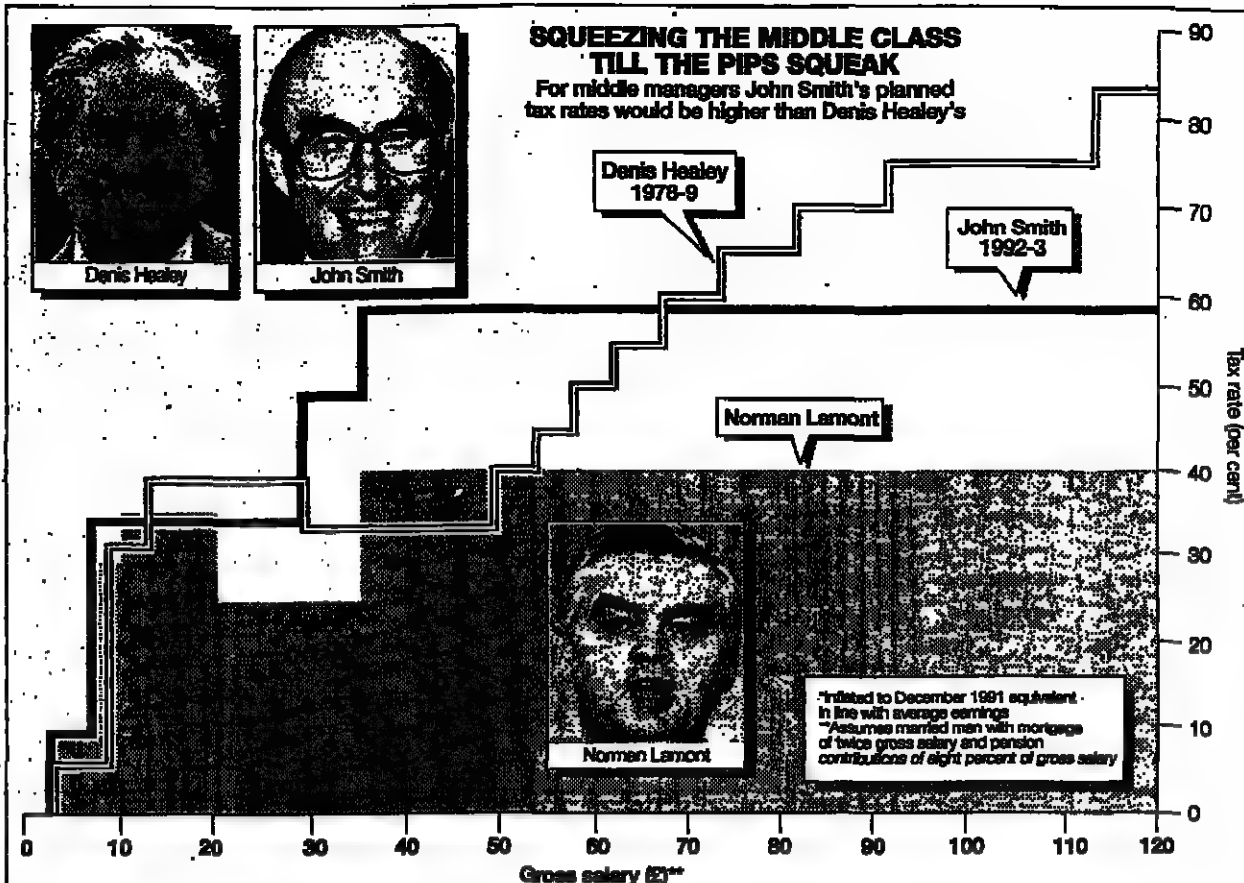
### Anatole Kaletsky thinks Labour's Shadow Budget tax proposals may cost them the election

This general election campaign, reminds me of one of those exasperating games of schoolboy tennis, where both players are so incompetent that the match is won entirely on double faults. The Conservatives enjoyed the initiative last week, and Norman Lamont duly served straight into the net with his feeble Budget. So the Tories trail in the set by four to five. Labour should be in a commanding position, but it is their serve. If John Smith were a half-decent player, he could easily win the election with today's Shadow Budget. Almost inevitably, he will serve another double fault.

Mr Smith could end the recession overnight by implementing the ideas complacently rejected by Mr Lamont. He could stimulate investment with capital allowances. He could trump the half-hearted car tax cut with total abolition, raising the £800 million needed via an environmentally friendly 3p-a-litre increase in petrol duty. He could raise mortgage relief for first-time buyers, financing this with a time limit on subsidies to existing home owners. But all such ideas will come to naught if Labour fails to defuse the electoral time bomb of tax.

Labour's tax debate has focused entirely on compensating "Essex man" for the loss of Mr Lamont's £100-a-year Budget handout. But this is a trivial distraction in comparison with the real tax issue: the unprecedented fiscal punishment Labour is planning for the middle class. Unless Mr Smith announces unexpected changes today, his tax and national insurance plans will be far more oppressive to middle class voters than the exactions of any previous Labour government. Denis Healey once boasted of squeezing "until the pips squeak", but if Mr Smith sticks to past pronouncements, the pips will squeak much louder after a Labour victory than they ever did in the days of Arthur Scargill.

This may sound hyperbolic. Labour's leaders believe they are only asking the affluent to make their traditional fair contribution to the costs of a



welfare state. Until Nigel Lawson's tax giveaway in 1988, the top rate of tax was 60 per cent. Surely restoring a 59 per cent tax rate now would merely undo the favouritism for the rich in the last, extremist years of Thatcherism? Even the Tories seem to have swallowed this argument. I have never heard a Tory politician explain, for example, that Labour's 59 per cent tax rate would be far more damaging than the expropriative 83 per cent top rate in 1978-9.

Yet the truth is that 83 per cent was never more than a socialist symbol. It was set so high that it never affected more than a tiny handful of the richest in the land. By contrast, Labour's new 49 and 59 per cent rates would hit millions of taxpayers who had never in the past come anywhere near paying such punitive rates of tax.

What matters about a tax system is less the precise tax rates than the levels at which they bite. On this basis, the new moderate, capitalist Labour party seems almost by accident to have committed itself to a far more punitive tax structure than it ever imposed in its socialist heyday.

The essential facts are as follows. Labour plans to raise the present 40 per cent tax band to 49 per cent. As a result, a married man would pay 49 per cent on all income

above about £29,000. Adjusting for growth of average earnings, and changes in tax relief on mortgages and pensions, this is exactly half the level at which the 50 per cent tax band bit in the last year of the last Labour government. All the following calculations assume a married man with a mortgage of double his gross salary, up to the limit for mortgage interest tax relief, and paying 8 per cent of his salary into an occupational pension fund (a tax deduction that Labour plans to limit to the standard rate).

In 1978-9, such a man would have had to earn more than £57,000 in today's money before paying tax at 50 per cent. In 1974-5 a man had to earn about £67,000 before the government took half his remaining earnings.

For Labour's proposed 59 per cent top tax rate, the discrepancy with past experi-

ence is even more astounding. Labour has suggested this rate might come into effect at a gross income of £35,000 or £40,000. By contrast, in 1978-9, a married man had to earn the equivalent of £67,000 before he hit a tax rate of 60 per cent. In 1974-5, the 58 per cent band started at about £84,000.

In 1987-8, the last year in which 50 and 60 per cent tax bands existed under the Thatcher government, they started to bite on incomes equivalent to £51,000 and £77,000 respectively. It is therefore false for Labour to claim it was restoring taxes on the affluent to the levels before Nigel Lawson axed top tax rates in 1988.

To do that Mr Smith would need a very different approach, one which could assure a Labour victory. He would shelve Labour's plan to

levy an extra 9 per cent tax on everyone above the present national insurance limit of £20,280. Instead he would propose a non-partisan review of tax and national insurance with the aim of removing distortions, not raising new money. This would mean forgoing £3 billion in extra taxes. Yet Labour could still easily meet its £4 billion of commitments on pensions, child benefits and training.

Abolishing the 20 per cent band would save £1.8 billion. A further £1.7 billion could come from a new 50 per cent band set not at the planned £29,000 but at about £45,000 as in 1987. Reducing the distortionary capital gains allowance and limiting pension relief to the standard rate could raise up to £1 billion more. If necessary, Mr Smith could find a further £1 billion with a 60 per cent tax band at £75,000, as in the pre-Law-

son days. A package like this would cut the cost of a Labour government to zero for anyone earning between £20,280 and £45,000. People on £50,000 would lose only £500 a year instead of £4,000. Even at £100,000, the cost would be cut from £13,000 to £8,000. But why should Labour care? Few voters earn more than £20,280, never mind £50,000. Most are Tories anyway.

With this calculation, Labour may be making a fatal mistake. The Tories and Liberal Democrats will find plenty of arguments to persuade Londoners, in particular, that they would all suffer if penal tax rates were imposed on the well-paid.

If people earning £50,000 a year found their disposable incomes falling by up to one quarter, the collapse of London property prices and service industries would make the last two years look like a boom. London would lose its position as an international financial centre if expatriates had to pay punitive taxes. Many other channels could be imagined for a reverse trickle-down effect that would ensure the poor were hit as well as the rich. But the greatest danger for Labour is based on psychology, not economics.

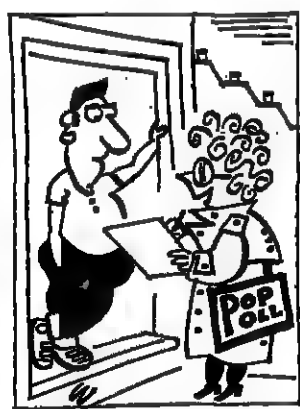
Labour strategists have done statistical studies to show that only 15 per cent of families, even in London, would lose under their tax plans. What they have forgotten is that many voters would worry about suffering from punitive taxes in future, as they earned more. Their concern may be irrational. People on average salaries may rarely make it into the affluent upper middle class. But many hope to try. Such aspirations will make the electorate think twice before it votes to squeeze the middle class until the pips squeak.

As Oscar Wilde once said: "If I could buy people for what they are worth and sell them for what they think they are worth, I would soon be a rich man." Labour forgets this at its peril.

## THE TIMES CITY DIARY

### Horses for courses

JEREMY Graham, the one-time three-day eventer, a senior European equity broker with Salomon Brothers, became the envy of his colleagues on Friday, when he resigned from the firm and declared his intention to join JP Morgan, the pukka American investment house now expanding its activities in London, and the most sought-after employer in town. "I will be handing in my notice in five minutes' time, and I start work at JP Morgan on April 16," said Graham, aged 29, on Friday morning. He will become one of only two non-JP Morgan trainees in its European team. He denied that he was being enticed away by more money, "but nor am I going there for less". He added: "I think Salomon will always be very powerful in the market, but it needs to rebuild its business with new individuals rather than those people who have already done it once before." Graham, whose wife, Lucinda Clifford-Kingsmill, designs clothes for wealthy women from their country home in Lambourn, Berkshire, is still well entrenched with the horsey world. He bought the Lambourn house from Charlie Brookes, the trainer who continues to live there as their lodger, and Graham's "great mucker" is, he says, Andrew Lloyd Webber, who bought Lucinda's father's estate. Lucinda rides with Lloyd Webber's wife, Madeline, while Graham now restricts his active interest in the species to ownership of Roscoe Harvey,



"Please consider possible effects on financial markets before replying..."

a nine-year-old that is recovering from a broken foal but is expected to be back in action again next season.

### Here they go again

SIR John Hall, the coal miner's son turned millionaire who built Gateshead's Metro Centre, expects a rough time today when Newcastle United holds its latest board meeting. Sir John, who is chairman of the troubled club, is likely to face the usual sniping from his fellow directors over strategy. Last month, he won ownership of the club—replete with new manager Kevin Keegan—by taking his share stake to 51 per cent, but seems no closer to finding a solution to its £4 million plus debts. Perhaps his eye for a canny deal will help. Sir John and his entrepreneurial son, Douglas, recently bought 100,000 shares in the Young Group, a mining concern run by Bob Young, a fellow Newcastle United director,

and one with whom Sir John has not always seen eye to eye. The shares rose from 34p to 45p overnight, adding £10,000 to Sir John's not insignificant fortune.

### Price of a seat

BRITISH and American stockbrokers expect to pay a fortune to win a seat on the Tokyo stock exchange when they can get it. But some, it seems, are prepared to pay an equally large sum in more remote regions. Hence word that Bankers Trust has just paid \$1.15 million to buy a seat on the Santiago stock exchange in Chile—not, it has to be said, one of the world's main stock markets. The seat was auctioned with a reserve price of \$715,000, so Bankers Trust must have been particularly keen to win a place. The firm says it already has substantial investments in Chile, especially in the fields of insurance and pension fund administration. Corporate members of the London Stock Exchange pay anything up to £55,000 when they join.

### Nixon's winners

ACHING limbs and sweaty brows were the order of the day at Smith New Court last week, when staff gathered for the 1992 Superstars competition. Star of Thursday evening's challenge was Robin Cany, a UK salesman, who covered 800 metres on a treadmill in 2 minutes 16 seconds. Not to be outdone, two members of the back office, Tom Cook and Martine Kayes, managed 97 and 70 press-ups respectively in the space of a minute. Hass off to Michael Heath, aged

51 and a director of the firm, who "ran" 800 metres in just under 4 minutes, well ahead of some of the younger contestants. Mark Nixon's "Nixon's Numbskulls", drawn from the fitter analysts and salesmen, won the event and are now recovering at their desks.

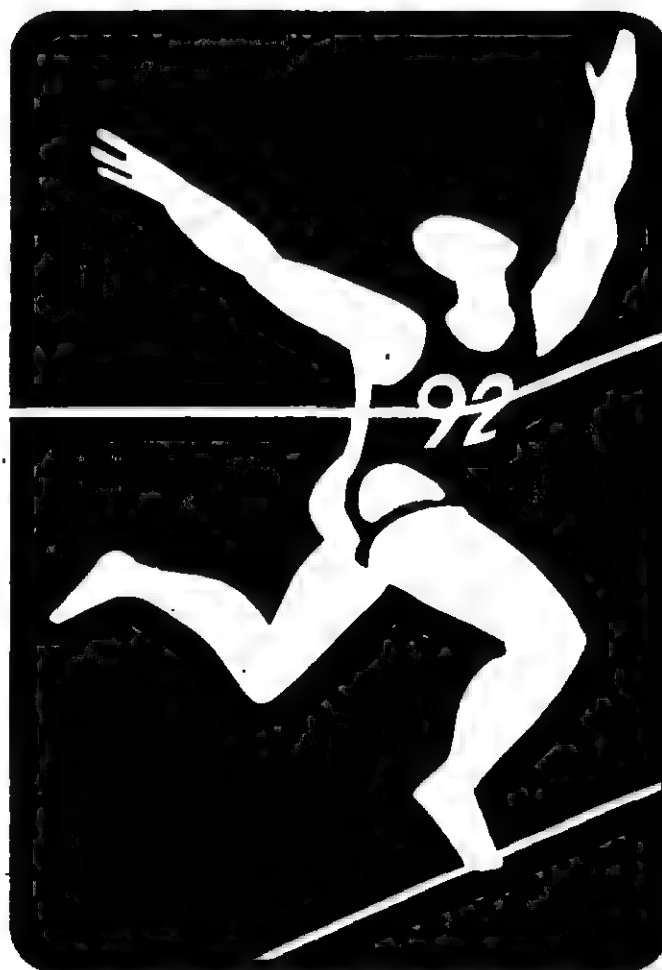
### Sad goodbye

THE Manchester business community will be sadder and duller this morning, after the death on Friday, in a local hospital, of the ebullient Reg Harrington, chairman and chief executive of Scholes Group, the electrical switchgear manufacturer, which supplied its Wylex switches to half the homes in Britain. Harrington, aged 55, died after a short illness, ten days after he had been admitted to hospital. Last Wednesday, Harrington was seriously ill. To fill the void, Richard Morgan, a Scholes non-executive director and former finance director of BICC, was appointed non-executive chairman, and Bill Riches, Scholes finance director, temporarily assumed the chief executive's responsibilities while a successor is sought. "He was a very jolly man, very personable and great fun," says Harrington's long-time PR man David Bick, of Lombard Communications. "He was also a very good businessman, he knew the business inside out and always knew exactly what he was doing." Our condolences go to his widow, Janet, and their two sons.

CAROL LEONARD

# THE COUNTDOWN HAS BEGUN...

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REPORTING THIS WEEK

# Guinness likely to brew up increase in profits

ANTHONY Tennant, the chairman of Guinness, is expected to unveil a healthy set of figures for last year as the group's wide geographical spread minimises the impact of recession in some parts. Profits of the spirits, brewing and luxury goods group will benefit from continued trading-up to premium drink brands and a string of acquisitions made during the year.

Andrew Baird, at JP Morgan Securities, is looking for final pre-tax profits, which are due on Thursday, to advance to £958 million, against £847 million last time. Market forecasts range from £950 million to £970 million. Mr Baird expects earnings per share of 34p (29.3p), with a dividend of 10.75p (9.4p).

Guinness's spirits division — which includes the Johnnie Walker and Bell's whiskeys and Gordon's gin and produces about 75 per cent of group profits — will be driven by higher real prices for products with minimal cost increases, plus the trend of moving to higher-quality and higher-margin brands. Strong growth in the Far East and continental Europe

should offset depressed volumes in Britain and America.

Mr Baird said: "Margin improvement in spirits won't be as emphatic as it has been before." The beer division will be pretty strong with mild margin improvement and dramatic volume increases, boosted by the acquisition of Cruz del Campo, Spain's largest brewer.

The profits contribution from Guinness's 24 per cent cross-holding in V.M.H. Moët Hennessy Louis Vuitton, the French drinks and luxury goods, will be slightly lower, reflecting worldwide recessionary pressures on luxury goods.

## TODAY

Nikka, the Japanese securities house, expects final pre-tax profits at Rugby Group, the cement producer, to decline to £52.5 million (£66.7 million).

Interim: Honeysuckle Group, MAI, Finale Alliance Trust, Antagasta Holdings, BPP Holdings, Christie International, Delta, Fisher (James) and Sons, IMI, ISA International, JIB Group, Mayborn Group, Metastar Group, Needler Group, Rugby Group, Suter, Wilson Bowden, WPP Group.



Recession beater: Guinness's Anthony Tennant, who may announce a dividend rise on Thursday

## TOMORROW

Interim: Green (Ernest) and Partners Holdings, Finale: Celsion Industries, Darnmoor Investment Trust, Evans Halshaw Holdings, Graseby, Henderson Highland Trust, Peak, Refuge Group, Wainwrights (Holdings), Wimpey (George).

Economic statistics: Index of output of the production industries (January); public sector borrowing requirement (February).

## WEDNESDAY

Bruce Davidson, at Smith New Court, expects BAT Industries, the tobacco and insurance conglomerate that is headed by Sir Patrick Sheehy, to announce final pre-tax profits of £1.05 billion, against £963 million last time. Market forecasts range from £995 million to £1.11 billion. Mr Davidson is looking for a dividend of 33.25p (31.1p).

Eagle Star's losses are expected to total about £415 million, including mortgage guarantee provisions of £219 million. Analysts will want to know what has happened to domestic mortgage indemnity claims. Tobacco should show some evidence of progress in eastern Europe

and the Asian Pacific markets. Final pre-tax profits at Renault Group, the environmental services and property care group, are expected to advance 20 per cent to £90 million, according to County NatWest. A dividend of 4.05p (3.3p) is forecast. Interim: European Leisure, Golden Hope Plantations, Maunders (John) Group, Finale: Asa AB, BAT Industries,

Bowthorpe Holdings, Britannic Assurance, British Mohair Holdings, Clyde Petroleum, Law Debenture Corporation, Lionheart, Marley, Matthews (Bernard), Portals Group, Rattford Group, Sanderson Murray & Elder, Steel Burnis Jones Group, Try Group, WSP Holdings.

Economic statistics: Retail sales (February — provisional).

## THURSDAY

Charles Coyne, at Credit Lyonnais Laing, expects Guardian Royal Exchange to slide to final losses of £240 million, against a deficit of £157.2 million last time. Forecasts range from losses of £200 million to £250 million. Most analysts expect a cut in the dividend, with predictions ranging from a total of between 6p and 8p, against 11.9p last time.

BZW expects final pre-tax profits at Kwik-Fit Holdings, Tom Farmer's automotive parts supplier, to advance to a record £32 million, against £24.4 million last time. Forecasts range between £31 million and £33 million.

UBS Phillips & Drew forecasts static final pre-tax profits of £132 million for Smith & Nephew, the healthcare products company. Forecasts range from £129 million to £133 million.

Interim: Bankers Investment

Trust, Foreign & Colonial High Income Trust, Lasmo, Scottish Asian Investment Co, Zambia Copper Investments, Finale: Arjo Wiggins Appleton, BSG International, BZW Convertible Investment Trust, Caird Group, Cattle's (Holdings), Dairy Farm International Holdings, Davis Service Group, Ferrum Holdings, Guardian Royal Exchange, Guinness, Johnson Group Cleaners, Kwik-Fit Holdings, Laing (John), Manders (Holdings), Nestor-BNA, Smith & Nephew, Stag Furniture, Thames Television, Thornton Asian Emerging Markets Investment Trust, UniChem, Vintan Group, Wassail, World of Leather.

Economic statistics: Labour market statistics: unemployment and unfilled vacancies (February — provisional estimate); average earnings indices (January); employment, hours, productivity and unit wage costs; industrial disputes; major British banking group monthly statement (February); provisional estimates of monetary aggregates (February); gross domestic product (fourth quarter — provisional estimate); cross-border acquisitions and mergers (fourth quarter); personal income, expenditure and savings (fourth quarter); industrial and commercial companies (fourth quarter).

## FRIDAY

Interim: Atwoods, Halstead (James) Group, Finale: Anglia Television, Beta Global Emerging Markets Investment Trust, Hornby Group, Mandarin Oriental International, Martin Currie Pacific Trust, Molins.

Economic statistics: Retail prices index (February).

PHILIP PANGALOS

# RTZ 1991 RESULTS

	1991	1990
Net attributable profit (before exceptional item)	£354 million	£507 million
Net attributable profit (after exceptional item)	£308 million	£507 million
Earnings per share (after exceptional item)	31.1p	51.4p
Dividends (net)	19.5p	19.5p

- Non-ferrous metals prices down a further 17%.
- Operating cash flow at £744 million remained strong.
- Balance sheet healthy, with gearing at 27%.
- New \$880 million copper smelter and refinery in USA proposed.

Sir Derek Birkin, RTZ's Chairman, commented:

"We are optimistic about medium and longer term growth prospects for the world economy. This augurs well for mining.

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## Companies fear crowding out

ONE of the most significant benefits of the low public sector borrowing requirements and occasional debt repayments of the mid-to-late Eighties was the re-emergence of the sterling corporate bond market.

But the future availability of that market on terms acceptable to corporate treasurers has been called into doubt by the announcement by Norman Lamont, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in last Tuesday's Budget speech that the PSBR will soar to £28 billion in the next financial year.

City analysts have calculated that, on the Chancellor's projections, gilt-edged issues totalling as much as £97 billion could be needed over the next three years to fund the PSBR.

If a higher spending, Labour-dominated government is elected on April 9, gilt issuance in the next financial year alone could reach £36 billion, or £3 billion a month for the coming financial year, according to UBS Phillips & Drew. That is about the same as the expected cash flow of institutional investors during the same period.

Assuming a medium-term gilt yield of 10 per cent and an underlying inflation rate of three to four per cent, the real return on gilt-edged is likely to be close to the expected real return on capital for the corporate sector. If the interest rate premium on corporate issues is also taken into account, there is a real possibility of the corporate sector being crowded out.

However, this is not the Seventies. The key new factor

is Britain's commitment to Europe through joining the ERM. Foreign investors' confidence in the sterling bond market has been increased dramatically by ERM entry. Provided that confidence is not destroyed by a post-election devaluation, the funding of the PSBR should leave enough slack for the corporate market to issue at reasonable rates.

That scenario looks all the more plausible while the longer term yield spread between sterling and the main continental European currencies, including the ecu, remains at current levels.

The European dimension also opens the possibility to corporate treasurers of borrowing in ecus at rates more than a percentage point below those in the sterling market. Corporate ecu bond issuance has not been a feature of the market to date, but many observers believe it is only a matter of time before leading British corporates start to dip their toes in the water.

Another factor is that many institutions are now talking in terms of a realignment of their asset allocations towards bonds and away from equities. This traditional shift at a time of low inflation is another reason the Nineties PSBR may not be as likely to crowd companies out as the Seventies version. Nevertheless, corporate treasurers in the decade to come may wistfully look back on the second half of the Eighties as the golden era of the sterling corporate bond market.

JONATHAN PRYNN

THE TIMES

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**PLATINUM**  
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1. The first step is to identify the problem or question that needs to be answered. This involves understanding the context and the specific requirements of the task.

71.90	Jayve	161	-2	13.0	10.8	5
71.90	Loring (R)	52	+	4	5.1	50
72.00	Lamontagne (W)	52	+	4	5.1	50
10.10	Lilley	33	-	4	2.5	10.1
10.20	Lin O'Grady (L)	112	-	2	7.0	8.3
10.30	Lovell (V)	22	-	2	2.2	13.3
16.50	Madden	117	-	1	6.3	7.4
325.60	Mandey	197	-	1	7.3	7.3
81.10	Mandell	88	-	2	5.0	7.6
37.10	Manderson (L)	151	-	2	4.9	4.4
104.10	McIntosh (A)	196	+	11	10.3	7.0
46.40	McCurdy & S	86	...	...	2.0	...
371.10	Meyer Inc	375	-	38	16.5	5.9
1.81	Michlin Corp	6	...	...	...	...
141.80	Moravetz (A)	133	+	7	21.1	10

1,150	Trans 13 1/2% 1994	100%	-	12
550	Treasury 15 1/2% 1994	107%	-	12
214	Trans 3% 1990/2005	100%	-	11
240	Trans 10 1/2% 1995	104 1/2%	-	12
2,550	Trans 12 1/2% 1995	108 1/2%	-	11

### MEDIUMS (5 to 15 years)

750	Trans 9% 1992-40	99%	-	6
3,200	Conv 10% 1990	100%	-	12
800	Trans 13 1/2% 1990	110%	-1 1/2%	12
770	Trans 14% 1990	111 1/2%	-	12

[illegible]

85.20	Hasty Oil (C)	107	-10	...	...	14.6
15.40	Kent Enorp	11	-1	...	...	...
1,274.20	LSA(41)	184	-2.1	8.5	6.2	6.9
1.70	Mid-South	189	...	25.8	21.5	...
4.64	Old Stock Rec'd	26	...	...	...	...
197.30	Monument	294	-2	...	...	19.9
14.90	New London	141	-1	...	...	...
16.20	Nth Sea Assets	32	-1	0.7	3.2	x
101.00	Oil Search	33	-1	...	...	...
11.50	Petroleum	35	...	1.2	4.8	9.2
33.00	Petrol	107	-1	...	...	...
108.80	Prestair	21	-1	...	...	9.2

4260.80	Thames west	124	-17	20.0	7.8	5.7
1354.50	Thames Water	150	-25	17.5	0.7	7.0
530.70	Woods Water	367	-18	19.5	7.1	4.1
794.30	Wolverhampton	203	-19	17.7	0.2	6.6
726.50	Yorkshire W	201	-21	17.7	0.4	6.6

Source: Finstar

♦ USM: # Price at suspension; † Ex dividend; ‡ Ex scrip; § Ex rights issue; ¶ Ex alt; § Ex capital distribution; || Figures or report misread; ... No significant data.



Cork wastes chances to earn Sheffield a point

# United survive to brighten their League prospects

Sheffield United ..... 1  
Manchester United ..... 2

By PETER BALL

EVERY successful championship march has its psychological moment. Almost exactly seven years ago, Tottenham Hotspur arrived in their dressing-room after winning at West Bromwich to discover that Everton had survived a battering to scrape home at Leicester after the young Gary Lineker missed three chances.

It was, John Giles, the former Leeds United midfielder player, remarked, the moment when he was convinced that Everton would shake off Tottenham's challenge. The parallels with Saturday were irresistible.

While Leeds were sweeping Wimbledon aside, Manchester United were on the rack at Bramall Lane, but came from

behind to win as Sheffield frittered away their chances. There was even a full guy, although on this occasion the culprit was no young, future England star, but Dave Bassett's favourite veteran, Alan Cork, who had the opportunity to make his full debut for his new club a memorable one, but saw three glaring chances go to waste.

And, whisper it quietly in Leeds, United survived to prosper. The result was tough on Sheffield, but, by the end, United were still running strongly, finishing with a flourish.

"The confidence is back in the club," Alex Ferguson said. "They are all enjoying their football again. They all want the ball. It was a great day for us."

Ferguson did not overstate his case. After the summer performances of recent weeks, United looked much

more like the side of the autumn - Robson, Bruce and Kanchelskis returning to make a telling contribution to a potentially significant victory.

"It was a victory for the three Ps - persistence, perseverance and patience," Ferguson said, but he knows how close it was to being a disaster.

On a sudden pinch and with Sheffield United still high from their midweek derby victory over Sheffield Wednesday at Hillsborough, the game flowed fast and furiously from the start, with chances spurned at both ends.

Surprisingly there was only one goal before the interval, the referee ignoring Cork's crafty nudge on Bruce, which allowed Deane to break clear and beat Schmeichel from just outside the penalty area.

It was the only time the Dane was beaten and he recovered to become the central figure in United's victory. A save from Deane at close range just before the interval was crucial and so was a double-save from Cork and Deane, both parts tinged with controversy as the first, foot-out, could have yielded a penalty and the second, a handball outside the area, rather harsher punishment. Fortunately, commonsense prevailed and Schmeichel stayed on.

By his own admission, he is still coming to terms with English football. "It is so physical, I'm not used to this type of football," he said. "It was really tough out there. Every time you go for a cross, there's a presence there waiting to get you. But I wasn't afraid, and now I look forward to the challenge of this physical game."

Schmeichel does himself less than justice. He is as crucial to United's hopes as Southall was to Everton's in 1985. On Saturday, he was also responsible for United's winner. Catching the ball at the end of a flurry of Sheffield corners, he released McClair with a quick throw, the Spot racing clear of an undermanned defence to give Blackmore a simple chance. Of such moments are champions made.

There was further success for Nottingham Forest, who beat Norwich City 2-0 to move into a safe mid-table position, and for Queens Park Rangers, Les Ferdinand's goal earning the first points of the season from their 2-0 win. Hirst and Williams



No way out: Reid, right, of Manchester City, runs into Benali at Maine Road yesterday. Report, page 28

## Wilkinson left wanting more

Leeds United ..... 5  
Wimbledon ..... 1

By IAN ROWS

JUST as Lee Chapman headed Leeds United's fifth goal ten minutes before the final whistle at Elland Road on Saturday, their many supporters who had been monitoring Manchester United's progress at Bramall Lane on radio learned that their closest rivals for the League championship had taken the lead over Sheffield United.

As the news filtered from terrace to stand, the most satisfying performance by Leeds for two months seemed something of an irrelevance. The irony was not lost on Howard Wilkinson, the Leeds manager, who can rarely have looked so disconsolate after an emphatic victory.

"I would be a liar if I did

not say that I would have been happier had Manchester United lost," he said. "Until this thing is mathematically sorted out one way or the other, it really is pointless talking about it."

"I have said all season that a good target would be to average two points per game. If we do that and somebody does better, they will have done very well."

With eight games remaining, Leeds may well reach their manager's ambitious objective of 84 points, but the indications are that it may not be enough, and that the inconsistency which has infiltrated so much of their football since the turn of the year will prove decisive.

In ending Wimbledon's seven-game unbeaten sequence, Leeds did produce some moments of genuine inspiration, but it was their ability to convert simple

chances which separated them from their opponents.

Once their policy of channeling their efforts down the flanks had negated Wimbledon's outside trap, the outcome was never in doubt. Having laboured without the hint of a reward in the first quarter, Leeds ruthlessly exposed the limitations of their opponents' defence by scoring three times in eight minutes.

After Chapman had met almost identical crosses from Batty and Rod Wallace to claim opportunistic goals from close range, Wallace himself steered in a firm drive from 12 yards.

Despite Miller's well-taken goal in the 51st minute, the quality of Wimbledon's football only occasionally matched their unbridled enthusiasm, and as if to emphasise that spirit is a largely superfluous asset when not allied to basic skill, Leeds scored twice in the dying minutes through Carrington and Chapman.

LEEDS UNITED: J. Lums, J. Newson, E. Carrington, D. Batty, C. Fildes, G. Whalley, S. Shotton (subs: G. Smith, Rod Wallace, Chapman, G. McAlister, G. Speed, W. Micklethwait, H. Rogers, M. Hayes, T. Carr, V. Barton, J. Baines, S. Fitzgerald, P. Miller, R. Ellis, J. Fothergill (subs: A. Carter, L. Marshall, P. Kitchin, R. Morton).

Chapman: opportunist

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Chapman: opportunist

## Dicks is lucky to escape dismissal

West Ham United ..... 0  
Arsenal ..... 2

By RUSSELL KEMPSON

JULIAN Dicks, the West Ham United captain, epitomises the inner-spirit still burning at Upton Park. Thou shalt not be relegated without a scrap; second division football over my dead body.

Dicks bristles with defiance and, with the ball won, he also masterminds many a West Ham move. A keen eye and deft touch, from the left-back position, adds an extra dimension to the most basic of probes forward.

Yet his wild and wanton youth, when opposing players were mere skeletons waiting to be toppled, occasionally returns to haunt him. Groves, the Arsenal winger, was the test-target on Saturday in a duel that bordered on high farce.

At its peak, Dicks fouled Groves five times in the space of 11 minutes either side of half-time, with challenges ranging from the slightly naughty to the downright dangerous. Groves played a full part, verbally rather than physically, and Brian Hill, the referee, displayed patience beyond belief, somehow restricting himself to a booking apiece.

Dicks must learn from Hill's leniency if West Ham are to escape isolation at the foot of the first division come May. He will be sorely needed, such is the plight of the east London club.

Arsenal have their head-aches too, the Highbury redevelopment plans provoking a similar anguished response to that at Upton Park. The supporters banded together on Saturday, released a bevy of balloons in token protest at the start and generally aired their annoyance at the board-room burghers.

Away from the politics, though, Arsenal dismissed West Ham's opening burst with disdain and took the lead in the thirteenth minute. Wright shrugged off Gale, ignored both penalty and handball appeals and then danced past Allen before beating Micklethwait with ease.

Another class finish from Wright, his 21st of the term, rubber-stamped Arsenal's growing authority in the 52nd minute before three pitch intrusions by disgruntled Bond opponents.

WEST HAM UNITED: Micklethwait, K. Street, D. A. Gale, G. Carter, K. K. Khan, P. Micklethwait (subs: K. Khan, M. Street, M. Micklethwait, G. Carter, K. K. Khan, P. Micklethwait, K. Street, D. A. Gale, G. Carter, K. K. Khan, P. Micklethwait).

Chapman: opportunist

## Chelsea enraged by dismissals

By PETER BALL

THE Premier League wants its own elite group of referees next season. If Chelsea have a vote, John Martin is unlikely to be among them after their defeat by Coventry City on Saturday.

Martin enraged Chelsea by sending off their captain, Andy Townsend, and their substitute, Clive Allen, for the force of their protests over, respectively, the refusal of a corner and being penalised for a foul throw-in.

After Townsend's departure, a fine goal by Stewart Robson, out of place in a mediocre game, further eased Coventry's position. The Chelsea performance suggested that frustration was behind some uncharacteristic behaviour, but it is likely to be costly. If Chelsea win their FA Cup replay at Sunderland on Wednesday, the pair are likely to miss the semi-final as a result.

There was unhappiness across London at White Hart Lane, where there was another demonstration. About 200 Tottenham Hotspur supporters called for Glenn Hoddle to be appointed manager after Sheffield Wednesday strengthened their hold on third place with a 2-0 win. Hirst and Williams

scored the goals which brought Tottenham's twelfth home defeat of the season.

Now only four points clear of the bottom three, relegation is looking a serious threat. Tottenham down and Cambridge up would be a fine start to the Premier League.

Leeds Town drew at Everton to close the gap with Tottenham to four points, although the Londoners have three games in hand. Luton led through Stein, but Maurice Johnson's header denied them a deserved three points.

Things are beginning to look grim for Notts County, who went down 4-3 in a thriller at Boundary Park after pulling back from 3-1 down to level the scores with six minutes remaining. Another three minutes and Ian Marshall scored the winner with a goal fit to win any game. That ended a run of four successive defeats for Oldham Athletic.

There was further success for Nottingham Forest, who beat Norwich City 2-0 to move into a safe mid-table position, and for Queens Park Rangers, Les Ferdinand's goal earning the first points of the season from their 2-0 win. Hirst and Williams

## WEEKEND FOOTBALL RESULTS AND TABLES

Barclays League First division										Second division										Third division										Fourth division										GM Vauxhall Conference										B and Q Scottish League Premier division										First division										Statistics									
A MILLA (0) 0 QPR (0) 1 19.50 EWESEA (0) 0 COVENTRY (0) 1 19.50 C PALACE (1) 1 LIVERPOOL (0) 1 Youngs 40 Luton 21 Jarnett 51 LEEDS U (0) 0 WIMBLEDON (0) 1 Chapman 23 27 60 Carmine 76 NOTTM F (0) 0 N WICH (0) 1 Conner 41 20.25 HOLDS (0) 0 NOTTS CO (0) 1 Riches 34 41 Hodson 44 Widdowson 14 44 58 SHEFF UTD (1) 1 MAN UTD (0) 1 Sheff Wed 22 TOTTENHAM (0) 0 SHEFF WED (0) 1 23.07 WEST HAM (0) 0 ARSENAL (0) 1 22.50 Walsby 12 31										BARNESLEY (0) 1 GOSFORD (0) 0 Currie 30 BRISTOL R (0) 0 B 43 BRISTOL S (0) 2 3 19.50 BRISTOL C (1) 1 Scott 17 Luton 15 IPSWICH (0) 0 15.17 WIMBLEDON (0) 1 WIMB																																																																					



















**BY ANDREW LONGMORE, TENNIS CORRESPONDENT**

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100



MONDAY MARCH 16 1992

Unfit England seem lethargic against World Cup leaders

## New Zealand convince sceptics of their worth

FROM JOHN WOODCOCK  
IN WELLINGTON

ANY doubt England may have had about the strength of New Zealand's recovery over the last three weeks would have been dispelled by the time they had been not so much beaten as outplayed by them here yesterday. New Zealand won by seven wickets with 9.1 overs to spare, their seventh victory in their seven World Cup matches.

It was nothing like a full England side, nor, so it seemed at times, a fully motivated one. Gooch (hamstring) and Fairbrother (flu) did not play, and DeFreitas (groin), Lewis (side) and Reeve (back), who did, would not have done had there been further players to choose from.

Lewis was unable to bowl, and late in the day Pringle came off midway through an over, complaining of something or other in the area of his ribcage. Making his first appearance in the competition, Lamb ran between the wickets and in the field as though still unsure of himself. The omission of Tufnell, who was fit, was surprising in

view of the pitch — a slow turner — and of how many cricks did play. On his figures in the World Cup so far (18-0-97-1) he can hardly be said to have a right to a place, but Crowe's reaction to his being left out, remembering how well Tufnell bowled on the England tour here, was one of relief when the teams were exchanged. It decided him to bat second, and to take a chance with Illingworth and Hick, who, in the event, were singularly ineffective.

After 20 overs England were 95 for one, Stewart and Hick having added 70 in 55 balls. Put in, England were already looking at something of the order of 250. In their next 30 overs they scored 105, a woful return. Of their last 65 runs from the bat, 52 came in singles. Lamb scored only in singles; Reeve and Pringle were much the same. For such an experienced side to make so little effort to work the angles was surprising.

When Smith, Lamb, Pringle and DeFreitas did go for a big hit they picked out long-on or long-off or deep mid-wicket with unerring aim.

TABLE									
Team	P	W	L	NR	Pts	Run	Wkts	Opp	Diff
New Zealand	7	7	0	0	14	+0.78			
England	7	0	7	0	0	-0.20			
South Africa	7	5	2	0	10	+0.52			
West Indies	7	4	3	0	8	+0.25			
Pakistan	7	3	4	0	6	+0.10			
Australia	7	2	5	0	4	-0.05			
India	7	1	6	0	2	-0.14			
Sri Lanka	7	0	7	0	0	-0.98			

Patel had bowled not the second over of the match but the first. The ground was full to overflowing, and great was the buzz when Botham got down to Patel's end. Great, too, was the rejoicing when, in Patel's fourth over, Botham, looking for a leg-side single, was bowled without having landed a serious blow.

Patel should already have had Stewart stumped, going down the pitch and smearing rather than driving at the ball.

While Stewart and Hick were together England had the initiative for the only time in the match. They showed up the limitations of New Zealand's support bowling, and it was not until Patel came back for a second spell that they were separated, Stewart pull-

ing him flat and low to mid-wicket, where Harris caught him very well.

Patel's seven victims in World Cup have been Border, Hudson, Hooper, Srikanth, Azharuddin, Botham and Stewart — a good bag by anyone's reckoning.

Although Hick added 40 for England's third wicket with Smith, inhibitions were creeping in, and after Harris had surprised Hick with one that bounced and had him caught at the wicket by Greatbatch (Smith had retired with a migraine), England became increasingly unambitious.

Called on to bowl some rather anxious off breaks, Jones did a useful job. He must have been surprised by how easy it was.

If England thought it no pitch for dictating to the bowlers, New Zealand soon showed that it could be done. Undeterred by losing Wright, his opening partner, in only the second over, Greatbatch pulled Pringle for six in the third and made 35 in 37 balls before being caught at deep square leg off Botham. That was 64 for two in only the thirteenth over, and once again Greatbatch had given the innings momentum.

Now Crowe and Jones added 108 in 138 balls with perhaps the best batting so far in the New Zealand leg of the competition.

England wilted in the face of their handsome, positive strokeplay and their excellent running between wickets.

You could say, I suppose, that England were due a bad match, and that if they were going to have one this was as good a time as any. It is not unreasonable to hope, too, that the same sides will meet in the final — and that the England party by then will all be fit again and eager for the fray.

World Cup reports, page 26

## Three fight for fourth place

FROM ALAN LEE, CRICKET CORRESPONDENT, IN ADELAIDE

THE remaining place in the semi-finals of the cricket World Cup could remain a matter for calculations and conjecture until the 36th and last of the qualifying games concludes in Melbourne on Wednesday.

South Africa yesterday joined New Zealand and England in the last four, but any one of three countries may yet claim the remaining vacancy. West Indies are the best placed, as they already have eight points, but Pakistan, on seven, and even Australia, the former favourites, on six, can displace them on Wednesday. The decisive games that day are in Christchurch, where Pakistan take on the unbeaten New Zealand, and in Melbourne, the day-night game between Australia and West Indies.

West Indies will secure the

semi-final place if they beat Australia. They can also qualify via a narrow defeat, but only if Pakistan fail to win in Christchurch.

Pakistan can qualify by beating New Zealand, but only if West Indies lose. Due to the time difference, the teams engaged in Melbourne will know Pakistan's result within an hour of starting their match.

For Australia to go through, Pakistan must lose and Australia's win over West Indies must be by more than 30 runs, assuming they bat first. If they are chasing, the calculations will be out in the dressing-room during the interval to work out how many overs they have in which to score the runs.

All of this confuses the semi-final pairings. New Zealand, the winners of the

group, are not yet guaranteed a home game because the competition rules state that Australia, who may be their opponents as the fourth-placed team, must play in Sydney. This would mean England and South Africa meeting on neutral territory in Auckland, but it remains unlikely. If Australia fail to get through, England are sure to play in Sydney, probably against West Indies.

New Zealand won toss

ENGLAND

	41	66	46	Min	Balls
*A J Stewart b Harris b Patel	41	0	7	28	58
Hard drive head-high to mid-volant					
I T Botham b Patel	8	0	1	22	26
Off-break touched and going through gap					
G A Hick c Greatbatch b Harris	36	1	5	64	70
Cutting, taken low by keeper					
A J Smith c Patel b Jones	38	0	3	67	72
Right drive to long on					
A J Lamb c Cairns b Watson	12	0	0	39	31
Long drive to deep extra cover					
C D Lewis c and b Watson	0	0	0	1	1
Pushing short ball, juggling catch					
D A Reeve not out	21	0	1	37	25
D R Pringle c sub (Latham) b Jones	10	0	0	20	18
Hitting to deep mid wicket					
P A J DeFreitas c Cairns b Harris	0	0	0	3	1
Sliced drive to deep mid-off					
R K Illingworth not out	2	0	0	8	2

Extras (b 1, lb 7, w 4) 12

Total (8 wickets, 50 overs, 159 mins) 300

G C Small did not bat

FALL OF WICKETS: 1-25 (Stewart 10), 2-66 (Hick 37), 3-135 (Smith 18), 4-182 (Lamb 9), 5-182 (Lamb 9), 6-182 (Reeve 4), 7-182 (Reeve 4), 8-182 (Reeve 4)

BOWLING: Patel 10-1-26-2 (5-1-1-1), 5-0-15-1; Harris 9-0-38-2 (w) (5-0-12-0, 3-0-15-1, 3-0-12-2); Watson 10-0-40-2 (w) (5-0-24-0, 5-0-18-2); Cairns 5-0-21-0 (w) (one spell); Larson 10-3-24-0 (w) (one spell); Jones 9-0-45-2 (2-0-14-0, 7-0-26-2).

INTERMEDIATE SCORES: 10 overs: 28 runs, 20: 94, 30: 122, 40: 158.

NEW ZEALAND

	36	66	46	Min	Balls
M J Greatbatch c DeFreitas b Botham	36	1	0	62	37
Full to deep backward square leg					
J G Wright b DeFreitas	1	0	0	6	5
Slotted off thigh pad					
A H Jones run out b Watson	78	0	12	122	113
Direct hit from 20 yards running in					
*M D Crowe not out	78	0	6	104	82
K Rutherford not out	3	0	0	28	11

Extras (b 1, lb 6, w 1, nb 1) 11

Total (3 wickets, 40.5 overs, 157 mins) 291

C Z Harris, 11 D S Smith, C L Cairns, D N Patel G R Larson and W Watson did not bat

FALL OF WICKETS: 1-5 (Greatbatch 2), 2-64 (Jones 23), 3-172 (Crowe 46)

BOWLING: Pringle 8-1-34-0 (nb 1, w) (5-1-24-0); DeFreitas 8-2-1-45 (7-1-33-1, 1-24-12-0); Botham 4-0-18-1 (one spell); Illingworth 5-0-14-0 (one spell); Hick 6-0-25-0 (one spell); Reeve 3-0-9-0 (one spell); Small 4-0-13-0 (one spell).

INTERMEDIATE SCORES: 10 overs: 40 runs, 20: 91, 30: 145, 40: 181.

New Zealand won by seven wickets.

Man of the match: A H Jones.

Umpires: S Randall (Australia) and I Robinson (Zimbabwe).



Making a stand: Keegan relaxes at his Hampshire stud farm yesterday

## Newcastle start to waver as Keegan plays trump card

BY OUR SPORTS STAFF

KEVIN Keegan relaxed with his family at their Hampshire home yesterday as he continued to play a high-risk game of bluff with Newcastle United. Last night the struggling second division football club, in turmoil and threatened with losing the manager whose appointment only 40 days ago was seen as the dawn of a new era on Tyneside, appeared ready to concede defeat. The stakes are high, and it seems Keegan holds all the aces.

"As far as I am concerned, it is all down to Newcastle," Keegan, the former England captain, said before reappearing behind the curtains of his home in the New Forest for Sunday lunch. "They know the situation and it's up to them what happens from here. The ball is in their court."

The dispute, inevitably, was sparked by money — or, rather, the lack of it available for Keegan to spend on new players in an effort to lift Newcastle out of the relegation zone. He was embarrassed to have to pull out of transfer negotiations to buy David Kerrlake from Swindon Town last week because the money was not available. "It's not like it was in the brochure," he said.

Yet while Newcastle lost £3 million in the past year and are £5 million in debt, they know they can ill-afford to

lose the services of Keegan, who was angered when the £1 million he was told he could spend was not forthcoming. His departure would not only infuriate Newcastle supporters, who idolise Keegan and have returned in their thousands to St James' Park since his appointment, but also put at risk the £13 million rescue package assembled by the club's chairman, Sir John Hall.

And if, by racing away from Newcastle on Saturday after their 3-1 victory over Swindon, Keegan, aged 41, had hoped to force the issue, he seems to have met with immediate, if partial, success. Sir John insisted yesterday that £500,000 would be waiting on Keegan's desk this morning to fund new players, and that he could do no more at short notice. It could be enough to persuade Keegan to back down from his stand.

"A personal cheque from Lady Hall and myself for the first player on Kevin's shopping list is already in the hands of the club," Sir John said. "Provided the lawyers and our bankers can come to an agreement, then Kevin can go out today and buy his man."

"But what people don't realise is that if we put personal cash into the club it can be swallowed up by the bank against our debts. I must safeguard against that."

Keegan, who had guided Newcastle to four wins and a draw in seven games since succeeding Osvaldo Ardiles as manager, a run which had helped them rise to eighth place in the table, had been so incensed by the situation he checked out of his Tyneside hotel on Friday night, but was persuaded to attend Saturday's game by a member of his staff.

Cushioned by a personal fortune, made during a distinguished playing career — he was captain of United when they won promotion to the first division in 1984 — Keegan would appear to have Newcastle over a barrel.

Keegan, who with his wife, Jean, watched his two daughters ride their ponies across his land near the market town of Romsey, said: "It may be a crisis for Newcastle, but for me it's not a crisis."

"The only people who suffer in a situation like this are the fans. I feel very sorry for them. When I took over there, Newcastle could not have been nearer the bottom, they were in the basement. I think I have done quite well since then."

"I have taken players like David Kelly, who could not get in the side at West Ham, and now he is regularly scoring goals for us."

Uniteds win, page 22  
Blackburn on track, page 23

## Dowie goal upsets City

Manchester City ..... 0  
Southampton ..... 1-2

By IAN ROSS

THE ease with which Southampton defeated Manchester City at Maine Road yesterday would suggest that their season of transition may yet meet with success.

The preservation of their top-flight status is still far from assured but an impressive and deserved victory was, at least, sufficient to move them out of the first division's bottom three. But on a disappointing afternoon, they were helped considerably by City's alarming shortcomings.

Two weeks after Peter Reid had been rash enough to suggest that his team could still overhaul the Uniteds of Manchester and Leeds, the City manager's boast was exposed as groundless. City, who had not been defeated in front of their own supporters since late September, were simply atrocious. They never looked capable of recovering after Dowie had scored the game's solitary goal eight minutes before the interval. Their football was threadbare and unconvincing, even in the final 20 minutes when Southampton's concentration began to dip.

Buoyed by a fine recent run of nine games without defeat, Southampton had begun well and continued to prosper, although City, ironically, created the better openings. Twice in the space of 12 minutes, Ruddock and Moore prevented Southampton from suffering a minor travesty of justice. The game's outstanding individual, Ruddock, cleared a Quinn header off the line, a feat repeated by his partner in central defence after Flowers had parried, but not halted Shearer's drive.

It was fitting that the one moment of true class should decide the outcome. In the 37th minute, Shearer drifted beyond his marker, Hill, to deliver a perceptive, deep cross which Dowie met with a fine header. It was the first-time Cotton had conceded a goal at Maine Road since Boxing Day.

MANCHESTER CITY: A Connor, A Hill, N Shearer, P Reid (goals: P Shearer), D Bughtwell (sub: J Bughtwell), D White, M Shearer, N Collins, S McMahon, M Hughes, SOUTHAMPTON: DRC, T Flowers, J Dodd, F Bonal, S Horne, K Moore, N Ruddock, M Adams (sub: M Gillett), G Coulson, A Shearer, J Dowie, T Hutzler. Referee: R Hall.

Photograph, page 22

## PFA issues warning of strike vote

THE Professional Footballers' Association warned the Premier League not to take its acquiescence for granted again yesterday (Peter Ball writes).

Unless the Premier League meets the PFA's demands at today's meeting of the Professional Football Negotiating Committee (PFNC) in London, the players will be balloted on strike action or, more likely, a ban on playing live matches on television.

The PFA is still seeking agreement on its role in the management structure of the new league, on pensions and on the cut it receives from the television agreement.

The Premier League has so far refused to agree to paying the ten per cent of television fees to which the PFA is at present entitled under the Football League contract.

In praise of t

## Can you solve this puzzle faster than the next Prime Minister?

How to solve this puzzle  
Each item at this chimps' tea party has a different value. Added together they give the totals shown. If you can work out the missing total for the left hand column you could be eligible to join Mensa, the high IQ society. For further details and a copy of the self-administered test, simply cut the coupon.

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## Surprise All-England result raises doubts

BY RICHARD EATON

THE surprise emergence of Liu Jun, the Chinese player, as the All-England badminton champion at Wembley may not be all it seems. A rival national manager, seeing the unseeded World No. 11 sweep aside two higher-ranked compatriots on his way to victory at Wembley, has suggested that the Chinese manoeuvred their players to procure a maximum quota of men's singles places at the Barcelona Olympic Games. Badminton has been included in the Olympics for the first time.

Leo Wiranata, the Indone-

sian manager, asked Keith Hawthorne, the tournament referee, to change the semi-final order of play to prevent the Chinese, who had three representatives in the last four, having a choice of which man they wanted to reach the final. Wiranata wrote to Hawthorne requesting that the semi-finals be played either simultaneously, or that the all-Chinese tie be played first.

"We knew that they would put their third player, Liu Jun, through once they saw the result of the other semi-final with only Chinese players left in the tournament,"

Wiranata alleged. He claimed that his view was supported by Liu's victory over Wu Wenkai, the former World Cup winner, and over another compatriot, Zhao Jianhua, the top-seeded world champion, in Saturday's final.

The request was unsuccessful because the referee was unable to contact Wiranata, leaving the first semi-final between Zhao and Allan Kusuma, of Indonesia, as scheduled. Liu became only the second unseeded man to win the championship with his success over Zhao, who had never lost to him. He is

now almost certain to join Wu and Zhao in the world's top eight, ensuring a place at Barcelona. Only two players from each country can qualify for the Olympics unless they reach the top eight, in which case a third is allowed.

It was a strange final in which Zhao performed in fits and starts, allowed a high serve to drop into his forehand corner on match point, and appeared relaxed about a surprising defeat.

Zhao denied collusion. "Liu Jun won because he played very well," he said. But before he answered, the Chinese interpreter had warned him

Mandarin that he need not answer a question as to whether or not China had played as a team.

Arthur Jones, the president of the International Badminton Federation, said yesterday: "I prefer not to comment on the allegations. We have tried as well as we can to create a Olympic qualifying system based on head to head results."

Collusion in the outcome of matches is difficult to prove and in the third round Liu did beat Ary Wiranata, the defending champion.



Zhao: first loss to Liu

Photograph, page 27

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MODERN TIMES  
Upper house,  
outer limit: the  
mission of  
Baroness Cox

# LIFE & TIMES

MONDAY MARCH 16 1992

LOOKS  
All aboard the  
Ark: life inside  
London's glass  
bubble city

## It's a scream on Big Dipper '92

Matthew Parris  
compiles an A-Z  
guide for voters as  
the general election  
roller-coaster sets  
out on its stomach-  
churning journey  
towards April 9

Here we go. Whoo! The comparison with a roller-coaster is hard to resist — why, there are even elements of the Ghost Train too. The speed, the thrills, the ups and downs and twists and turns: the screams of horror, the rattle of chains and flapping of shrouds; the sudden lifts and stomach-churning descents. It is nerve-racking stuff. Such is the terror and excitement of the unknown.

Except that it isn't unknown. The little cars into which we are strapped are confined to the track and the track is already in place. We know where it begins, we know where it ends. We can guess the bend on which a Norman Tebbit-like apparition is waiting to lunge at us from the shadows. We know the cave where the bulk with staring eyes like Tony Benn lurks. And we know that between start and finish, we are to be thrown up and down and all around until we feel sick but that at the end of the journey we shall walk unsteadily but safe from the fairground. The experience may be hair-raising but the path is pre-ordained, every precaution has been taken, and, in the end, nobody actually dies.

How like a general election campaign! The dates and timings are fixed and the attractions well-trailed in advance. We already know as the finish grows nearer, opinion polls will predict with increasing accuracy what the result will be.

Along a winding track, surrounded by certainties, bordered carefully on each side by the Representation of the People Act (1949), and upheld by the British Constitution, the politicians proceed. We follow. They are the professionals. They know what to expect.

But do we? Here, for those too young to remember the last interesting election in 1979 and those too old to wish to, is an alphabetical reminder of the horrors in store.

A is for April 9. This is the date they decided, for absolutely no reason, last week.

Don't ask me why they could have continued to July 9 if they'd wanted, but the Tories have read too many newspaper articles using phrases like "running scared", and forgotten that if you're scared running is quite a good idea. Mr Major had had too many late nights. By this time next week he will have forgotten why it was he persuaded himself that it had to be April 9. It didn't. Mrs Thatcher could have gone to America just as easily in May, June or July. But her flight's booked now: so April it will have to be.

A is also for Ashdown. Mr Ashdown's role in this campaign is



to leave the Labour and Conservative parties to pull each other to pieces, stepping in every few days to remind us that he personally will have no part in this barbarous "slanging match". He doesn't need to. The others are conducting it for him.

B is for Bribes. Find out whether yours is a "marginal" seat. Does your hospital need a new maternity unit? Does your village need a bypass? Is there any conceivable part of any conceivable weapon for the British Army which might be manufactured in your constituency? Now is the time to secure such undertakings. You'll be amazed what can be done.

B is also for Billboards. All over the country prime sites, from which we are customarily urged to smoke cigarettes whose brand remains a mystery, become the scenes of frantic media activity, as each new party political poster is "launched". Launched, that is, onto a page of newspaper for which the politicians would have had to pay £10,000. If the poster were inserted as an advertisement rather than "news".

As to their sponsors, the political posters are even more coy than the tobacco ones. A picture of Norman Lamont looking infinitely more interesting in a Barman cloak and mask than he does in his old suit, turned out to have been placed there by Labour. And if promising to deliver a double whammy does for Mr Kinnock's image what it did for Muhammad Ali's, then Mr Major had better promise a triple whammy fast.

B is also for Benn. The Tories will probably try to tell you that he's secretly pulling the strings. (See also under L for Lies).

C is for Candidate. This slightly ludicrous figure, distinguished by an elaborate rosette, has a largely token function these days, but survives from an age when MPs were sent to Westminster to take serious decisions. In theory, you

Candidates, ludicrous figures with elaborate rosettes, have only a token function

election should try calling themselves David or John.

Candidates who are not called David or John are mostly called Reg, Stan, Norman or Cyril. There is also a handful of Cecils and a couple of Sids. Names which have hardly been encountered in the real world since the war will be read out by returning officers all over Britain in the small hours of April 10. British politics is a sort of a national park for endangered Christian names.

E is for Election addresses. Each candidate should send you a personal election address, including a photograph of the candidate with a wife, or a dog, or (except

are voting "for" one or another of these candidates, but of course you and I know different.

C is also for Canvassing. This is a group activity engaged in by activists of all parties. It serves no outside purpose, being designed entirely to keep up the morale of candidates, but you may become peripherally involved as canvassers need real voters to talk to and pretend they are influencing.

And C is for Commentators. These appear in the media and serve no purpose either. Their job is to talk in learned but excited tones. They are listened to seriously only by editors, programme makers and other commentators.

D is for David Owen. David Owen is not standing in this election. However his views will be anxiously sought, for some reason.

And D is for David generally. Among MPs in the parliament now dissolving, there were 41 Davids. There were also 41 women. There were 54 Johns. Women seeking election should try calling themselves David or John.

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tionally) a husband. The document is in itself entirely without significance, but its appearance signals professionalism on the part of the candidate. It need not be read and may be discarded on arrival.

E is also for Edwina Currie. You will see a good deal of her in the next few weeks. After that (and if the Tories are re-elected) she will become a minister and you will see a good deal of her. If they lose she will become a very troublesome Opposition backbencher, and you will see a good deal of her. If she loses her seat she will have nothing to do all day and you will see a good deal more of her. There are no circumstances in which you will not see a good deal of Mrs Currie, or none which it would be right for you to contemplate.

F is for Fringe candidates like Screaming Lord Sutch and Miss Whiplash. Screaming Lord Sutch is quite a good joke but by now most people have heard it already. There is a slight but troublesome doubt about whether Miss Whiplash is supposed to be a joke.

Never call Green Party candidates "fringe", as this angers them. "Fringe" does not refer to lack of support, but implies a lack of worthiness. To understand why a worthy candidate for whom nobody votes is not fringe, read *The Guardian*.

F is also for Figures, and statistics. All parties will be bandying figures about for the next three weeks: figures for economic growth (old and non-old), crime figures, mortality figures. Ordinary voters should note that only two wise approaches to these figures are possible. One is to scrutinise them with hooded eyes, in great detail, and with encyclopaedic background knowledge and special regard for the politicians' hidden intent in quoting them. The other is to ignore them completely. Figures must be discarded — or disregarded. No approach between these two extremes serves any purpose but to confuse.

G is for Green energy policies. All three main parties will make these. The Labour party are in favour of coal but against smoke.

The Tories are in favour of coal but against coal miners. The Liberal Democrats are against coal, smoke and nuclear power too, and in favour of huge wind farms, but nowhere near your house.

G is also for Glenys. She will appear everywhere with Neil but will hardly ever seem to speak.

H is for Heselrine. He, too, will be popping up all over the place. He is environment secretary but may well be ranging a little wider in his remarks. He will not be mentioning John Major quite as much as some of the others.

I is for Issues. Frequent reference will be made to these but there will be persistent uncertainty as to what they are. I is also for Immigration. Immigration is not an issue of this we shall be assured constantly by Kenneth Baker, lest the subject slip our minds.

J is for John. Nobody has thought of a rude way of referring to him, yet. Even "Major" sounds rather decent. Neil should try changing his surname to Squadron-Leader.

to you. We pretend to be just like you, we pretend to be bored. We join you in deriding the indignity of it all. With you, we laugh at the candidates and the antics.

But note this well: we do carry on reporting it. The only response which would really sink them is the only response we have never tried. We never, never ignore them. We never walk away. You can, and do. We don't. We have newspapers to fill. In the one thing which matters, we are on their side.

The journalist needs the politician as the tick bird needs the hippopotamus. Don't be fooled by the affectedly weary tone of this or any other media commentator: politics are our bread and butter. A rich bread and butter pudding — richer than any we have seen in years — is on its way.

Let the pudding commence!

Here we go indeed. But was I right to say "we" at the outset? Dare I imply that you are on this roller-coaster with me? Or is it a mistake to make the assumption that the public is necessarily involved at all?

Reader, in this strange affair, we journalists are in the same game as the politicians, and false friends

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## In praise of the Unknown Commuter

We are now approaching the broad sunlit uplands, where a brave and prosperous new Britain will stride into the dawn of the European millennium. It must be true: ever since last Thursday, various plausible gents in different-coloured robes have been telling me so. And who am I to doubt that one of them will shortly deliver the goods?

In this new age, terrorism will wither and die and our cities be revitalised. There will be supertrains and electric buses and clean new piazzas and boulevards where fountains play and the Prince of Wales nods approvingly from behind a Doric column.

So I have a proposal. A fine country needs fine statuary, and it also needs reminding of the bad old days from which it has struggled free. Why else did the communist bloc adorn itself so lavishly with images of worker-heroes breaking their chains and waving picks at the rising sun? Imperial countries prefer military figures, preferably with breeches and tricorn hats, and religious countries like saints at their street-corners: but for Britain's future there is only one symbolic figure worth putting on a plinth. We must erect, at each quadrant of the capital city, a 20-foot high granite memorial to the Unknown Commuter.

He — or perhaps she — will carry a briefcase, but the right arm will be upturned, shading the eyes as if looking for an impossible bus. The stance will be heroic, the gaze stern and unwavering. Perhaps in

the Commuter's teeth there may be a dog-eared ticket; or perhaps it lies discarded at his feet, as if he had just accepted that there is no way that the system is going to get him any further than East Croydon before noon. The statues — one at Stratford East, one at Clapham Junction, and so on — will remind the prosperous children of the millennium what a hard road their forefathers trod. They will shed a tear at the thought of those brave journeys recounted in ballad and song: those six-hour marathons, those heartbreaks at Shenfield and dark nights of the soul just outside London Bridge. Perhaps they will murmur: "Never again!" as they throw posies at our sootied granite totems.

Commuters are the undoubted heroes of our time. In their dogged, chirpy endurance they are the true heirs of the men who won the war. (Actually, a few of the older faces on the 7.47 are the same ones who did win the war: there was a treasurable moment at a public meeting in Ipswich a few years ago when an elderly man, on being told that only nine of the 18 locomotives were operational because they were "very complicated pieces of machinery", announced that he used to supervise the maintenance of 18 equally-complicated Lancaster bombers. "And if I'd ever had fewer than 16 fit to fly to Germany, I'd have lost my job." Gales of bitter laughter.)

The commuter is rarely praised. But who else keeps the wheels of commerce turning through strikes

### WORKING LIFE

Libby Purves puts  
rush-hour veterans  
on a pedestal



and snow, leaves on the points and persons on the tracks? Through crashes and bombs and rumours of bombs? The commuter's dedication is legendary, his — and her — patience superhuman. On the rare occasions when a few rebel and do something fey, like getting out and walking along the tracks because nobody will tell them anything, they are loathly condemned as irresponsible, yet on the thousand other days when they meekly put up with the unbearable, nobody says a kind word. It is time for statuary.

Not of me, I hasten to say. Not any more. As a Greenwich rail commuter while the Dartford

guards were going through a particularly impenous phase, I know what it is to trudge through Deptford in the sleet in order to steam myself dry against some stranger's hot bomber-jacket, on the East London line. But since we moved further afield, I only travel once or twice a week. I am a mere amateur. But I have my moments. Last week, in the Budget Day bomb scares, I was off-loaded at Ilford instead of Liverpool Street with no trains likely for three hours. Luckily I was in company with my big brother Mike, a toughened commuter, and with half-mile bus queues in every direction and a disinclination to stand in the station with all the other extras from Dante's *Inferno* ("So many... I had not known death had undone so many...") we decided to walk out into the swiding grit and drizzle like Captain Oates and take our chance.

Behind us trailed a few other business suits with the same quixotic resolve, and we heard their hollow laughter echoing ours as we trudged through the blighted urban wilderness, breathing in lead and reading signs thanking us for visiting Ilford. We completed our five-hour journey some time later in a crawling taxi with two affable and resigned bankers. Not one of us burst into tears.

Commuters are good at what psychologists call Coping Strategies. Some to say very and resigned, like the old stagger who told my brother: "Don't ever let it get to you. I've watched men grow old

in front of my eyes that way."

Others, like my friend Harry, exorcise the blue-devils with a flamboyant strop. Once he was left so long on a freezing platform that he refused to show the guard his ticket, claiming his hands were too cold to find it. "In my pocket somewhere. Welcome to rummage. You find it," he told a baffled conductor. Another time a Panda car called to warn him off for threatening mayhem at Farringdon and found that this was the very man they had been warning off at London Bridge earlier in the evening. They remembered telling him to "try Farringdon, sir".

Together with nunnlike self-discipline, the good commuter has the resourcefulness of a backpacker. Look around a delayed train and hardly anybody fumes: they take out poker-dice and Penguin Classics, practise isometric exercises or fall asleep.

They know how to feed the spirit, too. One legendary passenger on the Norwich line always carries a copy of the baroque *Conditions of Carriage* and studies them ostentatiously. He has discovered an ancient law, "No passenger may operate any valve, lever, switch or mechanical device save those controlling heating and lighting," and never dries of pointing out that this makes it illegal to flush the lavatory. Don't tell me he doesn't deserve a statue.

TOMORROW  
Mid-life: Neil Lyndon

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Geoff Brown looks at the work of French film-maker Jacques Rivette, whose *La Belle Noiseuse* opens in Britain this week

## Model career of cinema's artist

Jacques Rivette has a fearsome reputation. When festival schedules list a four-hour film by this most ascetic director of the Truffaut generation, hardened critics just take a peek, then run. But at Cannes last year, a miracle happened. At the first screening of Rivette's competition entry, *La Belle Noiseuse*, people did not wriggle, chafe or quietly die of boredom: they sat still and alert throughout all the 240 minutes. On emerging, some gasped the word "masterpiece". There were two other screenings: each was packed.

*La Belle Noiseuse*, inspired by a Balzac story, follows the attempts of Edouard Frenhofer, a burned-out contemporary painter (played by Michel Piccoli), to complete an abandoned project once destined as his crowning achievement. Originally, his wife (Jane Birkin) served as his model: now a new girl (Emmanuelle Béart), companion to one of Frenhofer's young admirers, reluctantly takes over.

The first hour sets the scene; the last three chart the modelling sessions in Frenhofer's studio with painstaking detail. We watch transfixed, drawn into the pain of creation with each scratch of Piccoli's pen, each flick of the brush, each contortion of Béart's nude body. Gradually, the balance of relationships changes: the model, once putty in the painter's hands, asserts her own will, and the wife comes to wish the painting had never been resuscitated.

To find a Rivette work with a similar immediate appeal, you must roll back the years to 1965 and his second feature, *La Religieuse*, a sober and forthright version of Diderot's novel about a rebel nun kicking against her convent, her family and 18th century society. The French government briefly banned the film, which did wonders for its popularity. 1974's *Celine and Julie Go Boating*, three hours-plus of free-wheeling whimsy, also found favour in some circles ("the most important film made since *Citizen Kane*"), proclaimed the critic David Thomson; though it remains an uphill struggle to enjoy.

Such isolated landmarks apart, Rivette has hardly raised his head outside the circle of admiring con-

noisseurs, and the film festival merry-go-round. In the Fifties he was one of the many bright sparks orbiting round the influential magazine *Cahiers du Cinéma*; later, during the Sixties, he served as its editor-in-chief. Like Truffaut, Godard, Chabrol and company, Rivette eventually jumped from critic to practitioner, spending three years fighting for money to complete his first feature, *Paris Nous Appartient* (released in 1960). Highbrows appreciated its bleak portrait of paranoia and anguish, but there were no queues around the block.

In subsequent films Rivette strayed further from the commercial path: when you make something like the 1972 *Out 1* (nearly 13 hours of improvised mayhem) you do not expect bookings at the Odeon Leicester Square. Almost alone among his New Wave colleagues, Rivette (now 64 years old) has maintained the innocence of the novice film-maker.

Thematically, at least, *La Belle Noiseuse*, which was funded largely by French television, shows no sudden change of course. Rivette has always been drawn to characters involved in make-believe, and the interplay between fact and fiction. Theatre troupes haunt his films, most spectacularly in the powerful *L'Amour fou* (1968), another four-hour marathon, built round backstage turmoil during a production of Racine's *Andromache*.

But his narrative technique is now far simpler. In the past Rivette treated plots as something to subvert, or dynamite into enigmatic shards. *La Belle Noiseuse* gives us a single, enfolding thread to follow.

Rivette embarked on the production in his own idiosyncratic fashion. Actors had no fat script to thumb: all that existed before filming started was a 20-page sketch from the two scriptwriters, Pascal Bonitzer and Christine Laurent. Scenes were shot in chronological order, fleshed out day by day through discussion between actors, writers and the director. Piccoli (no stranger to adventurous films, though he had never worked with Rivette before) found the process exhilarating, as he explains: "We knew we were bringing a lot to Rivette, and not just acting."



Burned-out case? Michel Piccoli as the painter Edouard Frenhofer, central character of Jacques Rivette's *La Belle Noiseuse*

With so much footage spent on the bond between painter, model and canvas, Rivette could not afford to hedge the technicalities. When Frenhofer paints in long-shot, we see Piccoli himself during close-ups, though, the hand that wields the pen and brush belongs to Bernard Dufour, a well-established French painter, known for his treatment of the female form. You can spot the difference between the two men: Dufour has sturdy, "peasant" hands, though physically they are otherwise much alike.

Dufour joined Rivette's team for most of the shooting in a rambling chateau in the south of France. Apart from his hands and painting skills, he instructed Rivette and Piccoli in the art of twisting a

model's limbs and perching her perilously on a bench. Judging from the positions Emmanuelle Béart adopts, he might be a pupil of Mondrian.

When the artist Dufour left after four weeks, one crucial point in the story's resolution had yet to be decided. Should Frenhofer's completed picture—the cause of so much sweat, heartbreak and jealous pangs—actually be shown? After much pondering, Rivette chose to tease his audience by revealing only a fragment of Frenhofer's *chef d'oeuvre*. Since Dufour by this point was not available, one of the set painters did the honours.

Previously, Béart was best known to British audiences for one of her least successful performances, as the vengeful young heroine of *Manon des sources*. In *La Belle Noiseuse* she shows her proper mettle. She entered rehearsals with great trepidation. Imagine the scene: three men pulling her body this way and that, struggling to find the appropriate poses for the lengthy modelling sequences.

First, Dufour would make his suggestions; then Piccoli would try them out. Rivette endeavoured to remain in the background, to avoid causing Béart any further embarrassment. Gradually, Piccoli recalls, Béart gained confidence, along with her character: by the end of their sessions, it is the model, Marianne,

who is in effect calling the shots.

With *La Belle Noiseuse*, Rivette, the New Wave outsider, has finally come in from the cold. But his head is unlikely to be turned by fame or popularity. His next film subject, Joan of Arc, promises no frivolities. And in life as in work he beats a solitary path. Piccoli describes Rivette's typical day: "He gets up, goes to a favourite café for breakfast and reads his paper. Then he goes to a bookshop, reads over lunch, sees a film at two and another film at five. Then he buys the evening paper, goes to a restaurant, eats, reads, and goes to another film in the evening." This is not how you make the gossip columns.

● *La Belle Noiseuse* opens at the Chelsea, Metro and Remoi on Friday.

### ARTS BRIEF

#### Victor's parade

MISERABLE competition! Even as Manchester prepares for the "British northern premiere" of the Bouill/Schönberg *Les Misérables*, at the Palace Theatre from April 14, comes news of another *Les Misérables*, opening at the Nottingham Playhouse. The latter is a straight play adaptation of Victor Hugo's novel, by the Irish dramatist Christina Reid. It runs from April 2 to 25, and uses local people as extras to man the barricades alongside the professional cast. The Cameron Mackintosh/Royal Shakespeare Company blockbuster has taken £4 million in bookings from eager Mancunians.

#### Pav goes north

SHEFFIELD will be the next British city to enjoy the Luciano Pavarotti road-show. The tenor has announced a concert in the new 1,150-seat Sheffield Arena on June 3, accompanied by the Hallé Orchestra. It will be his only show in England this year, though he did appear in Glasgow last month. While in Sheffield, Pavarotti will attend a dinner to raise money for the charity Birthright.

#### Auger surgery

THE American soprano Arlene Auger, one of the finest present-day singers of Mozart and baroque opera, has undergone surgery to remove a malignant growth from her cerebral cortex. She hopes to resume her career after a recovery period of between three and six months.

#### Last chance...

THE Victoria and Albert Museum's big show, "The Art of Death", was due to open more than a year ago, but was put off because the Gulf war was supposed to make it untimely and possibly offensive. Difficult to see why, since the approach is far from frivolous — though inevitably the show has its funny moments. The objects collected are all connected somehow with the rituals surrounding death: between 1500 and 1800. This informal Dance of Death may be observed at the V&A (071-938 8361) until Sunday.

### CONCERT REVIEWS

#### Belief beneath pretty pictures

With its vivid sunrise and sunset, cascading waterfall and rainstorm, Richard Strauss's *Alpine Symphony* seems the epitome of musical scene painting. Surely this graphic depiction of a mountain expedition lasting a full 24 hours is just a glorified film score? Such a suspicion is, at least, one reason why the work has never entered the symphonic repertoire. (The need for an orchestra of 150 players, including no fewer than 20 horns, may also have something to do with it.)

Yet the pictorialism is probably the least interesting aspect of the work. Strauss's mastery as a tone painter is never in doubt: did he not boast he could depict a knife and fork in music, if necessary? But

what makes the rare outings of the *Alpine Symphony* such memorable experiences is the sense of elemental energy. This is a paean to Nature from one of the great pantheists.

All praise to the Orchestra of the Royal Opera House for summoning the resources for the symphony on one of its occasional sorties outside the Covent Garden pit — this time to the Festival Hall. All praise, too, for not baulking at the work's extraordinary technical demands, and to Bernard Haitink for shaping a performance that realised its Nietzschean spirit of eternal recurrence as convincingly as its pictorialism.

Regrettably, the underlying spirit of autumnal resignation in Strauss's *Four Last Songs* was far less evident. This was a



Felicity Lott: attractive

reading short on languor, and the final "Im Abendrot" (At Sunset) began as an unduly boisterous jaunt rather than a tranquil song of farewell to life. Felicity Lott's attractive soprano never fails to please, but her tonal colouring drew little

distinction between the smiles of summer and the closing of its weary eyes.

The opulence of the *Alpine Symphony* signals Strauss's indebtedness to Wagner. An even more explicit tribute is Bruckner's Seventh Symphony, with its funeral coda to the slow movement, added on the news of his hero's death, and its Wagner tubae.

Colin Davis's performance with the LSO at the Barbican captured the work's spiritual profundity, never at the expense of the unfolding drama. Reordering of the slow movement and scherzo is questionable on editorial grounds, but works well musically.

Davis's seriousness of purpose was equalled by that of György Pauk, Ralph Kirshbaum and Peter Frankl in Beethoven's Triple Concerto. They gave a performance of matchless grace and style.

BARRY MILLINGTON

#### Not a perfect fit

Apart from a disconcerting battle of intonation with the organ of St Mary's, Bathwick, Bath — no fault of Christopher Bowers Broadbent, the player — the performance, conducted by Stephen Jackson, was well blended and assured, as indeed it ought to have been by the sixth concert of this seven-concert Arts Council Contemporary Music Network Tour. Michael George, the bass, sang with particular authority, though as usual the pure, penetrating tenors of Rogers Covey-Crump

and John Potter, and David James's unmistakably cool counter-tenor, also impressed greatly.

Perhaps the dryish acoustic of this church robbed the piece of a modicum of its mystery. It certainly affected the flavour of Pärt's huge, four-voice organum from eight centuries back, *Sederunt Principes*, which must have sounded glorious in some of the tour's other venues — Westminster Abbey, for instance.

Earlier we heard John Casken's *Sharp Thorne*, com-

posed especially for this tour and also scored for just four voices. This is a straightforward, mainly syllabic setting, cogent in movement and often angular in harmonies, which effectively combines Sylvia Townsend Warner's poem *The Lenten Offering* with two verses from the anonymous 15th century poem, *Woefully Amped*. There were also pieces by the Pole Henryk Gorecki, *Cantata I* for organ (1968) and *Totus Tuus* (1987), composed for a Papal visit, devoutly conservative and sugary to a fault.

STEPHEN PETTIT

### TELEVISION REVIEW

#### Trying to figure it out

THE denouement of *Utz*, shown on BBC 2 last night, must have left everybody but confirmed vandals wincing with horror. Armin Mueller-Stahl, playing the title-character, lay in his death-bed, too feeble to do anything but gesture at the hundreds of Meissen figures he had spent the film and his life collecting. What did he want? Why, to smash them one by one. And that is what Brenda Fricker, his devoted factotum, smilingly did. Crash went shepherdesses and dwarfs, harlequins and columbines. For a moment, we could share some of the feelings of bookish Egyptians when the library at Alexandria was set alight.

The movie as a whole had been a preparation for this climax, yet the reasons for it were not fully clear. Hugh Whitmore, who adapted Bruce Chatwin's original novel, is a dramatist who enjoys understatement, ambiguity, mystery: witness his *Breaking the Code*, about the Enigma machine and that still deeper enigma, the scientist Alan Turing. Perhaps *Utz* was making a political point, perhaps a private one. Perhaps he was a victim of the funerary system and was offering the ritual sacrifice of a pharaoh unable to bury his treasures with him. Anyway, George Stiner's film cut from *Utz's* Czechoslovakian boyhood to his old age from a mansion with a million rooms to a Prague flat where, thanks to funds squirreled

away in Switzerland and (perhaps) a quiet deal with the authorities, he had managed to maintain his collection. Mostly, the action occurred in the last years of the Hapsburg regime, a period evoked in small, deft ways: fat party cars nabbing the best fish in a restaurant, a friend trying to organise a funeral mass in a church officially closed to worshippers after 8.30am, functionaries cataloguing *Utz's* figures for the state museum that would inherit them. Perhaps it was to outwit a system he wrongly believed to be unalterable that he massacred his porcelain.

Then there was Brenda Fricker, exuding solidity and warmth as the maid whom *Utz* (an unworriedly melodramatic touch, this) had long ago saved from death. She had married him to get him a bigger flat, and was forced to watch while he pursued his second hobby: collecting the sexual scalps of lady opera-singers.

There were only hints, but perhaps he had belatedly come to the same conclusion as a Henry James hero. Why had he squandered his life on art when love had all along been under his nose? Whatever the answer, it all added up to a film the more absorbing for the intent, sorrowful and wonderfully inscrutable charisma of Mueller-Stahl. The supporting cast included Peter Riegert, the art-dealer who sleuthed out *Utz's* more superficial secrets, and

best of all, Paul Scofield as *Utz's* oldest friend. To hear him cackling with glee to find "crap" transformed to "crap" on a dreary English-language menu, or defiantly announcing to the restaurant-at-large that he collected house-flies "because they are anarchists and individualists", was an unlooked-for plus.

BENEDICT NIGHTINGALE

### TOMORROW

How does it feel to be nominated for British and US Academy Awards? The actress Kate Nelligan talks to Matt Wolf

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# Upper house to outer limits



Baroness Cox is a Tory peer with a mission: to relieve the victims of Nagorno-Karabakh. Alice Thompson met her before her latest mercy flight

Emma Nicholson has done it: so have Glenys Kinnock, Ann Chwyd, Lynda Chalker and Ann Taylor. From Ethiopia to Kurdistan, women politicians on mercy missions seem to pop up in the most extraordinary and often violent places. They show care and compassion and dispense medicine and advice on their whistle-stop tours. They even know how to hold a baby and they make great news coverage for their respective parties.

Baroness Caroline Cox, a deputy speaker of the House of Lords, is different. She has not merely lent her services, she has thrown herself bodily into her cause. She feels so passionately about the plight of Nagorno-Karabakh, the bitterly disputed Armenian mountain enclave in Azerbaijan, that she has gone back to the region five times in the past nine months and will be there again by the time this newspaper has gone to print.

A diminutive woman, swamped by a heavy fringe, dark make-up, a lipstick-red suit and a beatific smile, Baroness Cox met me in the House of Lords tearoom. She wolfed down teasakes and seemed so happily ensconced in a velvet chair that she looked more like a first-former on a school trip than a 54-year-old Tory peer with a mission.

Only a week before she had been battling through snow in the dark on her way to deliver medical goods to the people of Nagorno-Karabakh. More than 2,000 people have died in four years of fighting in the 1,700 square-mile enclave, making it the bloodiest of the ethnic feuds that helped to tear the Soviet Union apart.

Baroness Cox is alarmed by the reports of a massacre of Azeri civilians in Khojaly last month and by the alleged killing of 200 Armenians in reprisal. She is also worried about the treatment of hostages taken by on both sides. But her main concern is for the 180,000 Armenian civilians in Karabakh, who make up more than 80 per cent of the population. The Azeris have imposed a blockade, denying electricity, running water, fuel and medicines to the area. They are now using Grad multiple missile launchers on the civilians in the Karabakh capital of Stepanakert.

Each time Baroness Cox makes the journey from Armenia to

Stepanakert she has to trust her life to one of a rapidly decreasing number of Armenian helicopters that run the blockade: seven remained in January, four last week. She is loath to talk about personal feelings, cringing further into her suit when asked whether she is worried for her own safety.

"I am fortunate in that my husband is understanding and my children are grown up, otherwise it would be irresponsible to go. I do panic before I leave but the Lords always put me on the back. And I won't take too many risks. I want to see my grandchildren grow up," she says, briskly dismissing the subject.

"Nine months ago I had never heard of Nagorno-Karabakh," she admits. She was happy to concentrate her considerable energies on education reform and aid for emerging east European countries. Then she was asked to chair the Andrii Sakharov Memorial Congress

on human rights in Moscow last May. "Karabakh surfaced as an issue because Armenian villagers were being deported from the area by the Russians and Azeris. The congress wanted to send a human rights delegation to Armenia and Azerbaijan and as chairman I felt I ought to go."

On her first trip to Armenia she met recent Armenian deportees in the capital Yerevan. "I spoke to one old lady whose paralysed husband was shot in front of her by the Azeri black berets and a pregnant woman whose husband had been shot in the mouth for helping her to walk. Many showed gruesome marks of beatings and tortures. We concluded that there were real problems over human rights but we also felt a commitment to hear the Azeris point of view," she says.

The Azeri government refused them entry. So Baroness Cox asked the Armenians to fly her up to the disputed border to walk into Azerbaijan illegally. "The area had been shelled that morning and was littered with cartridges. An Armenian guide got a branch of ash and tied a white tablecloth to it but he said he didn't think it would help because the last man waving a white flag had been shot immediately."

Talking to Azeri villagers, some of them wounded in the cross-fire, made her see that this was clearly a two-way conflict. She convinced the government to let her go in



Mercy mission: Baroness Cox's Armenian guide did not think a white flag would help, since the last man waving one was shot

again, this time legally. She reported the grievances of the Azeris but felt there was an imbalance. "The Azeris had a strong army presence, a well-run militia and a large stockpile of soviet weapons. The Armenians did not have a comparable army."

Having filed her report, Baroness Cox might then have been content with an impassioned speech to the House of Lords. Instead, she went home to plan the finances for another trip. By her third visit last October the Soviet Union had disintegrated and the Armenians had begun fighting back. Civilians on both sides spent most of their time cowering in freezing cold, dark cellars. In the village of Kirkejan, the Azeris live at the top and the Armenians at the bottom of a hill.

Baroness Cox was escorted up in an armoured carrier to avoid snipers. On the Azeri side, the people talked about their wish to hold on to their homeland and showed a rabid hatred of the Armenians as intruders. But they had no specific grievances and no casualties. On the Armenian side she saw two boys who had just been shot dead while playing by a tree. The Azeris had cut off the water supply from above.

The baroness admits where her sympathies lie. "It is important to premise any understanding of our reporting by pointing out that the Sakharov foundation stands on the side of the victim and we feel that the Armenians are the more victimised. We decided

to give equal aid to both sides but I wanted to lobby the international community on behalf of the Armenians."

But what of the 1,000 Azeris reported to have been killed by the Armenians at Khojaly? "The Azeris have flown out journalists and film crews to view the dead and have given out figures which cannot be verified. Fact and mythology are often inextricably linked in this cauldron of hate but the Azeris are more sophisticated than the Armenians and they have a much better PR system," she says.

A nurse by profession, Baroness Cox believes her other main task is to provide medical supplies. The area has no baby milk, anaesthetics, codine or disinfectant and the hospitals in the capital have been repeatedly

shelled by Azeri fire. Baroness Cox is worried that warmer weather will bring an epidemic.

Last week both President Ter-Petrosian of Armenia and Yagub Mamedov, the acting president of Azerbaijan, expressed their desire for an immediate ceasefire. But neither side appears willing to change its negotiating position. Yagub Mamedov says Karabakh is an inalienable part of Azerbaijan, while President Ter-Petrosian insists that the mostly Armenian enclave has the right of self-determination.

Baroness Cox is convinced that there is a solution. The two communities used to live happily together, she says. "But we haven't got much time. We are dealing in a timescale of days before a real bloodbath could occur."

## Young, gifted, male

Women still play second fiddle

Women make excellent novelists. They paint well. Some have gained fame on stage and screen. But they never make good composers. That, at least, is what might be deduced by anybody in the Barbican Hall tonight, where the final of the Lloyds Bank Young Composer Award takes place. There are 12 finalists, all male.

The panel of six eminent musicians who selected them are also all men. But they are not altogether to be blamed. More than 70 portfolios were received from composers under the age of 22; six were from women. The figures have stunned producers organising the event, an adjunct to the BBC Young Musician of the Year competition.

"I had always assumed the prejudice against female composers had disappeared," was the comment of Roy Tipping, executive producer. "I just don't have an explanation."

Others do. First, there is the still crushing weight of tradition. Until this century women were simply not allowed to be composers. The most famous instance was Clara Schumann. Robert's wife, who wrote music arguably as imaginative as her husband's in the middle of the 19th century, but was forced to keep most of it to herself. The burden of this "great composers are male" assumption has taken decades to shift; clearly, there is still some way to go.

The overwhelming male ethos of the music profession is not helping. Girls are usually in the majority in Britain's excellent youth orchestras, right up to the National Youth Orchestra. But something happens after that; in professional orchestras, men outnumber women on average by five to one. The world's most famous orchestra, the Vienna Philharmonic, still employs no women musicians.

What of psychological differences between men and women? Young composers do not exist in a vacuum: to get anywhere, they must push, coerce, plead and bargain for performances. Aggression and self-confidence may not count for more than musical ability (which is surely gender-blind), but they do matter. Are such qualities still a male preserve?

Of course, there are isolated signs of change. Judith Weir would now be on the list of top British composers of any music critic (most of whom, incidentally, are men). The London-based European Women's Orchestra has pioneered a welcome "positive discrimination" in its programming. English National Opera now has a woman, Sian Edwards, at its musical helm.

Nevertheless, tonight's all-male proceedings ought to shame the music profession. If a new Beethoven came among us, would she ever get a performance?

RICHARD MORRISON

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VICTORIA MCKEE

When parents split, mothers usually get the children, but advice is at hand for the distraught men

## Fathers close to the brink

Earlier this month a frustrated father seized a shotgun and shot his former girlfriend and her parents before killing himself. The chain of events was apparently sparked off by a battle for contact with his three-year-old son.

Most of those reading of the incident in the Sunday papers will have considered it a freak occurrence involving an irrationally crazed individual. But some fathers cut off from their children through divorce or separation believe they can understand such violent behaviour.

Kevin Kilcullen is one. "I am on the verge of a nervous breakdown because of the way my three-year-old daughter was taken from me at 15 months and I was denied all access to her," he says. "There are no more legal steps I can take and my anger is such that I'm thinking of illegal ones — like bashing down the door and snatching my child." Mr Kilcullen, who claims he was earning £100,000 a year as an insurance executive before his divorce, is now on the dole — which gives him some bitter satisfaction, he says, "since it means my ex-wife doesn't get any maintenance and I don't have to pay for my legal bills. I like it this way."

Despite, or possibly because of, his own anger and frustration, Mr Kilcullen is a counsellor with Families Need Fathers (FNF), an

organisation set up 18 years ago to fight for fathers' rights after separation or divorce. Bruce Lidington, the north London area organiser and a member of the national council of FNF, which claims 1,500 paid-up members, says, "I think every man in Families Need Fathers has been on the brink of either abducting a child or taking drastic action against either his ex or his ex's solicitor. We have men coming to us gibbering. Of course we always counsel against abduction or anything like that, because it doesn't benefit anyone. But how can you stand by a guy who's in the front line of a war and tell him he shouldn't fight?"

The Family Policy Studies Centre says that 85 per cent of divorced fathers do not have custody of their children — whereas FNF members talk of 95 per cent. And while FNF claims that two-thirds of fathers lose all contact with their children within two years of divorce, the Family Policy Studies Centre feels that 40 per cent is a more realistic figure.

"Many of the violent events we read about," Mr Lidington alleges, "have contact wrangles behind them, and many of the other custody-battle cases which have made headlines for ending in violence or abduction involve members of Families Need Fathers."

Alan Hunter-Craig, a 55-



Fighting mad: Kevin Kilcullen says he can understand the urge to take violent action

year-old interior designer, still marvels at how being cut off from his son, now six, turned him into a criminal — but doesn't regret his desperate actions. "From being a law-abiding citizen I was suddenly being arrested for all sorts of things, once for having taken my son on holiday with me to Sicily, even though I brought him back voluntarily."

Mr Hunter-Craig says: "I know I am probably described as obsessive by the courts, and to a large degree that is true. I am obsessive about my son. I'd give my support to any parent, man or woman, who was denied access to their

child. It's barbaric, and in the end it's the children who suffer." A court ordered Mr Hunter-Craig to start conciliation proceedings with his former partner last week.

One of the oldest conciliation services in the country is the Bristol Family Conciliation Service, which began in 1974. Most couples go there voluntarily, to try to work out the best arrangements for their children in an amicable fashion. It is hoped that, under the more flexible new Children Act, which came into effect in October, no court orders regarding "residence" and "contact", the new terms which have replaced custody and access, need be made. Kay Begg, a

conciliator with the service, acknowledges that there is a powerful tide of anger that has to be stemmed.

"We deal with so much anger and conflict," she says. "There's a lot of frustration and when people are frustrated and unable to communicate, as men often are, then it does erupt in violence. People of all classes and all education feel it, but a more articulate person often has more articulate ways of dealing with it."

John Akers, of the Birmingham Family Conciliation Service, founded a decade later, observes: "A man may appear to neglect his children, and his wife, very reasonably might say, 'Well, why should you see them, you

haven't been a particularly good father, you haven't been there for them.' He may have been out working, providing, not appreciating that what the family wanted was a bit of emotional support and companionship. But then he misses them grievously."

Mr Akers hopes that the Children Act, which puts the best interests of the child above the interests of all other parties, will help to calm some of the anger. "Often men come to us resigned to the fact that they are going to lose their children," he says. "But that looks on children as possessions. It's useful to understand the Children Act: that you don't win or lose children — you share them."

He believes that shared children, who might spend alternate weeks with each parent, are the happiest. But Jane Simpson, the vice-chairman of the Solicitors' Family Law Association, disapproves of many such arrangements. "They are rarely in the best interest of the children, because they don't know where their home is. And it requires so much co-operation between the parents that they almost might as well have stayed married. We believe the ideal would be free movement between the two, with the mother and father living close but the child having one main residence."

Mrs Simpson also feels that "the Children Act will not help to regulate the sort of behaviour of a mother that can make fathers so angry, because the parent with whom the child lives can always poison the child's mind against the other if he or she wants to and no law is going to stop that. All the law can do is try to be as fair as possible — and there isn't a universal view of what's fair."

VICTORIA MCKEE



"My stories were all written with a moral purpose. The moral effect of one of them has now been questioned in a disagreement between the county inspector for English and a single councillor in Kent."

Ted Hughes writes about his fables for children in this Friday's TES

TES

THE TIMES EDUCATIONAL SUPPLEMENT  
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## All the school's a stage

**David Tyler visits the performing arts school that waits to see whether politics will alter its future**

Students with stars in their eyes will take a close interest in the general election. Their school, the only state comprehensive to concentrate on the performing arts, is one of 13 city technology colleges in England and Wales that will be handed back to local authorities if Labour wins.

The Performing Arts and Technology school in Croydon, south London, was set up by the British Record Industry Trust (Brit), a charitable organisation formed by the British Phonographic Industry.

Large record companies have raised £2 million of the total £10 million cost and intend to give more. Other contributions come from smaller companies.

Lessons start at 8.30am. The restaurant is open for breakfast from 7.30am. Theoretically, lessons end at 5pm on Mondays and Wednesdays, 4pm on Tuesdays and Thursdays and 1pm on Fridays, but many children stay late to complete work.

The academic year consists of five eight-week terms with two-week breaks and a four-week break in the summer. The staff, says Regena Nicholls, one of two vice-principals, use the first week of their two-week break to work on their course and keep administration up to date.

Miss Nicholls, a former senior teacher at an all-girls comprehensive, says: "We are a school for the arts and in this country in the past we tended to marginalise the arts in our schools."

Torsten Frieding, the other vice-principal and a former deputy head of a comprehensive, concedes that the Brit is "not a normal school".

Mr Frieding believes there is a need for other similar schools throughout Britain. "We offer our students a broad education but ensure that they end up with qualifications they could not easily get elsewhere," he says.

The school opened with 120 14-year-olds and 180 16-year-olds in September, a year late because of building delays. The school allows pupils to enter at 14 and 16 only



Living the role: two of the older pupils take part in a practical session in a drama workshop at the performing arts specialist school

and expects to have its maximum 720 by September 1993. Students at 16 are taken from all over Britain but the younger students are expected to live within one hour's travel, though this may have to be reconsidered.

"Punctuality leaves a lot to be desired but it is not the students' fault as they are sometimes let down by buses and trains," says Anne Kurney, the principal. "About a third of our students get up at 6am and are still here at 8pm. The kids and staff work too hard, but students want to finish things and the staff will find the time."

Alongside mainstream GCSE subjects, the school offers dance, drama and music, recording, video, and radio and television as part of the performing arts syllabus, which occupies a third of the teaching time. After 16, students spend about 60 per cent of their time on their own specialisation.

In addition to the GCSE, A-levels and AS-levels, the school runs courses for the City and Guilds, Business and Technology Education Council (Btec), and National Vocational Qualifications.

The performing arts underpin everything done at the school. For example, in a school production, costumes and scenery evolve from course work in design and textiles. Specialised computer programs in science and technology are used to plan the stage layout and lighting. Box office and marketing are covered in mathematics, English and business studies.

The performance itself would be developed in the specialist performing arts and English subjects. The school is the first of its kind dedicated to the education and vocational training for the performing arts and the technology that

make performances possible. There is a 500-seat theatre, sound and dance studios. Television and video studios are planned. On entering the school, students join a mixed-ability tutor group with a year tutor. Homework can mean working on a word processor or recording music on a cassette recorder as well as the more traditional writing, reading and research.

Most students say they are working harder than they did in their previous schools but say they get used to it and anyway are able to follow the subjects in which they are genuinely interested and have opportunities for practical work. They all want to work in the entertainment industry either as performers or behind the scenes.

Lewis Whitehall, aged 15, came from a secondary school in Wallington, Surrey. He is taking GCSEs in technology, graphics, drama, French, the performing

arts, English, mathematics, science and the humanities. Lewis, who is dyslexic, says: "I was not enjoying my old school very well and not getting much help. I like drama, music and graphics and singing and would like to learn an instrument."

Camille Wagstaff, aged 16, has come to the school with a friend from Heckmondwike Grammar School, West Yorkshire. She had heard about the school after seeing the Brit music awards on television. Camille is studying stage craft, set design and performance in three two-year Btec courses and hopes to become a performer. She is also studying conversational French and make-up.

Mrs Rumney will not talk politics but emphasises that she sees her school as part of the state system provided by Croydon council. "We have good relations with the local authority," she says.

## Tories gamble on teachers' votes

WILL education policy be a plus or a minus for the Conservatives? I do not suggest people will let this or any other policy determine their vote. However, all the parties wish to be judged on the education issue.

The Conservatives began radical reform, defining the "educational establishment" as the root cause of the system's failure. Perhaps they hoped rank-and-file teachers would join them in attacking the "trendy theorists", teachers' union leaders and partisan local politicians, whom they lumped together under the establishment banner. If so, it was a vain hope.

In orchestrating concern about education, Conservative education secretaries have sprayed grapeshot on all who work in schools and colleges. Tempers have risen as fast as morale has fallen. When the

per cent of primary and 41 per cent of secondary teachers. Conservative support in both groups had fallen to 24.

In a recent Gallup poll commissioned by the National Association of School Masters Union of Women Teachers, Conservative support had fallen to 17 per cent in both groups. Labour led with 47-48 per cent. Liberal Democrat support was 22 per cent.

The most remarkable change has been among primary teachers, where the Conservatives have squandered goodwill. Ordinary, apolitical, professional teachers have turned on the Conservatives. One of these is Geoff Burgess, the head of St Mary's school, Bridport, Dorset, who sent other primary heads a copy of his open letter to Kenneth Clarke.

He writes: "I have taught in five different decades in grant-aided, grammar, comprehensive and secondary modern schools in this country and abroad... I write in desperation at the frenetic, horribly misinformed and deeply insulting statements and actions for which you and your predecessors are responsible. To seek

### VIEWPOINT

Stuart Machure



to make political capital out of the lives of young children is beneath contempt... I do not recognise the grotesque parody which you use to describe what happens in schools."

Many feel as he does. Mr Clarke's genial pugnacity strikes them as old-fashioned arrogance. Their anger may benefit the Conservatives, telling voters that the government has been bold enough to challenge a profession that is complacent and has fallen down on the job.

The political calculation, however, turns on whether the alienation of the million people in the public education system is more than offset by the political friends the Conservatives have made with radical change.

## Volunteers who adopt the right spirit

**Will the Prince of Wales's scheme to help young people play their part in society fulfil its vision?**

Polly McNeil would like to be a community artist. She has walked, abseiled, shovelled gravel and waved a paintbrush towards her goal. Now, after a 12-week "personal development" course, she feels she is significantly closer to it.

Miss McNeil, aged 21, from Dundee, is one of 600 young people to have enrolled in the Prince's Trust Volunteers programme, which was devised by the Prince of Wales to foster responsibility, civic pride and a teamwork spirit in people aged 16 to 24.

The initiative, now 18 months old, is halfway through its pilot phase. More than £750,000 has been spent setting up 30 centres, and the programme is near the point at which the organisers must decide whether it can afford to meet its targets.

Recession, unemployment, lack of private sponsorship and public indifference have all conspired to make the birth of the venture difficult. The venture has been accused of being a diversion to the real issue of youth unemployment. The organisers, however, insist that it is on course.

Miss McNeil, who had been unemployed since leaving

school, was invited to join after doing voluntary community art work on Dundee housing estates. She joined 17 young men and women, coordinated by a skills centre.

For 12 weeks, during which she was unpaid but continued to receive state benefit, she worked with the rest on group projects, spent a week in the Scottish mountains, learnt first aid, helped to restore a children's holiday chalet and attended lectures. Seven weeks were spent on work experience at the McManus museums and art galleries in Dundee, where she learnt skills useful to her long-term goal.

The programme is intended to draw out leadership potential, decision-making, communication skills and teamwork in young people whose chances of learning these qualities in a job are dimly low. "It gave me confidence, especially in handling people," Miss McNeil says. "I found that working alongside others for so long raised my levels of

tolerance levels. I learnt to accept people with different views and backgrounds." Miss McNeil has since found a job as a filing clerk.

The lack of jobs for young people and retrenchment by employers dog the infant volunteer programme. Mixing unemployed and employed young people in a group, as well as people from different backgrounds, is an essential part of the course.

The scheme also needs employers' support if it is to continue to expand and meet the prince's eventual aim of 100,000 participants by the end of the century. Every employer pays £1,200 towards the training cost.

Elizabeth Crowther-Hunt, the director of the Prince's Trust Volunteers, is disappointed at the number of employers taking part. "We are attracting more unemployed than employed young people. We are trying to improve the position," she says. In Sheffield, where young

people have helped at a school for the disabled, built a games room for the mentally handicapped and saved a play scheme from closure, employers are enthusiastic.

Mike Ellis, the director of Sheffield's Savacentre hypermarket, has sponsored four unemployed school-leavers through the course and then given them jobs afterwards. "It gives them confidence, motivation and the ability to work in teams," he says.

The organisers rely heavily on the goodwill of voluntary organisations and professionals such as the police. In every centre a grant from the Prince's Trust buys a team leader. Otherwise, time is given free.

At present 14 areas of Britain are covered and six will be added this year. There will then be 50 centres. The plan is to train between 2,500 and 3,000 young people a year by the end of 1993, but will the prince's vision be fulfilled? "Our job is to find the formula to do that," Ms Crowther-Hunt says. "In particular, we are charged with finding one that is not totally based on charity."

MICHAEL DURHAM



Showing a sense of responsibility: Louise Hill, of the Southwark group in south London, helps an elderly woman

### UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS

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Applicants must either hold a PhD degree or have completed postgraduate research equivalent to a PhD thesis. The appraisal of the applicants' qualifications will be based primarily on the assessment, by a selection committee, of their written work (published or in manuscript), which must be submitted with the application. All applicants will receive a copy of the selection committee's assessment report and recommendation.

Further details may be obtained from Professor Ulf Hedetoft, Department of Languages and Intercultural Studies, Aalborg University, P.O. Box 159, DK-9100 Aalborg, Denmark. (Tel: +4598158522. Fax: +4598157303).

Applications - including a curriculum vitae, a summary of teaching and research experience and interests, a bibliography, and publications and manuscripts (all in triplicate) - should be sent to: Aalborg University, Faculty of Arts, P.O. Box 159, DK-9100 Aalborg, Denmark. The closing date for application is 28 April 1992.

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## House of Lords

## Law Report March 16 1992

## Court of Appeal

## Payment in lieu not wages

**DeLaney v Staples (trading as De Montfort Recruitment)**  
Before Lord Templeman, Lord Bridge of Harwich, Lord Ackner, Lord Goff of Chieveley and Lord Browne-Wilkinson  
[Speeches March 12]

Where an employer summarily dismissed an employee, without the employee's agreement, and tendered a payment in lieu of proper notice that payment was not "wages" within the definition in section 7 of the Wages Act 1986.

Whereas on a dismissal of an employee the summary procedure of the industrial tribunal was available for unpaid wages in the ordinary sense, claims relating to the failure to give proper notice and payments in lieu of notice would have to be brought in the county court.

That conclusion produced an untidy and unsatisfactory result and the situation called for fresh consideration by minister to make an order under section 131 of the Employment Protection (Consolidation) Act 1978 so as to confer jurisdiction on industrial tribunals to deal with claims for breaches of contract.

The House of Lords held dismissing an appeal by the employee, Miss Mary DeLaney, from the Court of Appeal (Lord Donaldson of Lynton, Master of the Rolls, Lord Justice Balguy, Lord Justice Goff and Lord Justice Nourse) (The Times January 9, 1991; [1991] 2 QB 47), which had allowed in part Miss DeLaney's appeal from the Employment Appeal Tribunal (Mr Justice Wood, Mr T. S. Batho and Mr A. C. Blythorn) (The Times February 8, 1990; [1990] ICR 364) and ordered that Miss DeLaney was entitled to recover from her employer, Mr R. J. Staples (trading as De Montfort Recruitment), her claim for unpaid commission and holiday pay but that the industrial tribunal was right in deciding that it had no jurisdiction to adjudicate on non-payment of money in lieu of notice.

Mr Robin Allen, Mr Martin Westgate and Mr Thomas Kibling for Miss DeLaney; Mr Staples did not appear and was not represented; Mr W. Robert Griffiths *amicus curiae*.

sented it was stopped by Mr Staples who claimed that he had discovered that she was in breach of her duty of confidentiality.

Miss DeLaney's weekly pay was apparently up to date but she claimed that there was due to her commission of £18 and accrued holiday pay of £37.50.

Although the sums at stake were small, the questions raised were of considerable practical importance. If Miss DeLaney was not entitled to proceed in the industrial tribunal under the 1986 Act, she could sue Mr Staples for breach of her contract of employment in dismissing her without the one week's notice to which she was entitled. But, since the industrial tribunal had no jurisdiction to entertain claims for damages for breach of contract, such proceedings would have to be brought in the county court.

In a large number of cases, claims arising from the termination of employment related only to the employer's failure to pay wages or sums in lieu of notice. It would, therefore, obviously be convenient if such disputes could be resolved comparatively simply in the industrial tribunal rather than pursued through the courts.

The proper answer turned on the special definition of "wages" in section 7 of the 1986 Act. But it was important to approach such definition bearing in mind the normal meaning of that word.

The essential characteristic of wages was that they were consideration for work done or to be done under a contract of employment. If a payment was not referable to an obligation on the employee under a subsisting contract of employment to render his services it did not fall within the ordinary meaning of "wages".

It followed that if an employer terminated the employment, whether lawfully or not, any payment in lieu of notice was not a payment of wages, but was a payment of money in lieu of notice.

sum in lieu of notice, summarily. In such a case if the employer summarily dismissed the employee he was not in breach of contract provided that he made the payment in lieu. But the payment in lieu was not a payment of wages in the ordinary sense since it was not a payment for work to be done under the contract of employment.

At the end of the employment, the employer and the employee agreed that the employment was to terminate forthwith on payment of a sum in lieu of notice. The employer was not in breach of contract by dismissing summarily and the payment in lieu was not remuneration for work done during the continuance of the employment.

Without the agreement of the employee, the employer summarily dismissed the employee and tendered a payment in lieu of proper notice. That was by far the most common type of payment in lieu and the present case fell into that category. The employer was in breach of contract by dismissing the employee without proper notice. However, the summary dismissal was effective to put an end to the employment relationship, whether or not it was later discharged by the contract of employment. Since the employment relationship had ended no further services were to be rendered by the employee under the contract. It followed that the payment in lieu was not a payment of wages in the ordinary sense since it was not a payment for work done under the contract of employment.

The nature of a payment in lieu falling within the fourth category had been analysed as a payment by the employer on account of the employee's claim for damages for breach of contract. *Gothard v Mirror Group Newspapers Ltd* ([1988] ICR 729, 733).

Did a payment in lieu, although not wages in the normal sense of that word, fall within the definition of "wages" in section 7(1) as being a sum payable "in connection with" the employment? The first enquiry must be whether the language of the Act threw any light on the problem.

The words "in connection with the employment" were wide enough to include a payment in lieu. His Lordship did not agree with the Court of Appeal that *prima facie* the words were not wide enough to include a payment in lieu because such payments were payments of damages for breach of contract.

First, not all payments in lieu were payments of damages. Even in the fourth category of case where payments in lieu were properly analysed as being payments of damages, that did not mean that they were not pay-

ments "in connection with" the employment. Apart from a contract indicating the contrary view, payments connected with the termination of employment, whether or not characterised as damages, were quite capable as being described as being made in "in connection with" that employment.

Having analysed sections 2, 3, 4, 5 and 7 of the 1986 Act, His Lordship thought that one was forced to the conclusion that payments in lieu of the fourth category did not fall within the statutory definition of "wages". One was thrown back to the basic concept of wages as being payments in respect of the rendering of services during the employment, so as to exclude all payments in respect of the termination of the contract save to the extent that such latter payments were expressly included in the definition in section 7(1).

Thus payments in lieu, whether or not contractually payable, were not wages within the meaning of the Act since they were payments relating to the termination of the employment not to the provision of services under the employment. That conclusion produced an untidy and unsatisfactory result. On any dismissal, the summary procedure of the industrial tribunal under the Act would be exercisable in relation to unpaid wages, holiday pay, commission, maternity leave and so on but claims relating to the failure to give proper notice would have to be brought in the county court.

The employee was therefore forced either to bring two sets of proceedings or to proceed wholly in the county court on a claim for damages. To be forced to bring two sets of proceedings for small sums of money in relation to one dismissal was wasteful of time and money. It brought the law into disrepute and was not calculated to ensure that employees recovered their full legal entitlement to damages for breach of contract.

As the judgment of Lord Donaldson of Lynton, Master of the Rolls, in the present case (*supra* para 45), showed the courts had been struggling for nearly 20 years that that power be exercised, so far without success. His Lordship believed that all the Lordships were of the view that the present unsatisfactory position should be put to rest by the Minister.

Lord Templeman, Lord Bridge, Lord Ackner and Lord Goff agreed.

Solicitors: Ms Tamara Lewis; Treasury Solicitor.

**Regina v Boal (Francis)**  
Before Lord Justice Watkins, Mr Justice Simon Brown and Mr Justice Owen  
[Judgment March 13]

An employee in charge of a shop while the general manager was away on a week's holiday, was not a "manager" for the purposes of section 23 of the Fire Preventions Act 1971 so as to be guilty of criminal offences for breach of the premises fire certificate.

The Court of Appeal so held in a reserved judgment allowing an appeal by Francis Stephen Boal, employed by W. & G. Foyles Ltd, bookellers, Charing Cross Road, London, against his convictions at Middlesex Guildhall Crown Court (Judge Lowe and a jury) early in 1991.

He had pleaded guilty to three offences, convicted of seven, acquitted of one and was sentenced to three months imprisonment suspended for 12 months.

Section 23 provided: "If a person is guilty of an offence under this Act committed by a body corporate is proved... he shall be deemed to be guilty of that offence..."

Mr Kevin De Haan, who did not appear below, for the appellant Mr W. W. Foyles Ltd, the Crown.

MR JUSTICE SIMON BROWN, giving the judgment of the court, said that the appellant was, at the time, advised by solicitors and counsel differed from those presently instructed. Underlying the advice then tendered was that he was incontestably a manager within section 23.

Foyles, too, had pleaded guilty and had been fined £21,750 and ordered to pay prosecution costs of £5,468. In 1987 they had had to plead guilty to similar contraventions of the Act.

The appellant initially sought leave to appeal solely against sentence. His application having been refused by the single judge came on renewal before the Court of Appeal presided over by Lord Lane, Lord Chief Justice.

The court, of its own motion, doubted whether the appellant was in fact a "manager of the body corporate" within section 23 and granted leave to appeal not merely against sentence but also out of time against conviction.

Mr De Haan submitted that the appellant, through no fault of his own but because of his lawyers' misapprehension of the true scope of section 23, was fixated on a defence which would have a realistic prospect of succeeding at trial and that, in those circumstances, their Lordships should allow his appeal and set aside the conviction even though he had pleaded guilty to three counts and had not con-

tested that particular element of the offences charged against him. Mr De Haan invited attention to *Gibson v Barton* (1875) LR 10 QB 329 where the court was concerned with section 26 of the Companies Act 1862; *Registrar of Restrictive Trading Agreements v W. H. Smith & Son Ltd* (1969) 1 WLR 1460, concerning section 15(3) of the Restrictive Trade Practices Act 1956 and *In re Company* (1980) Ch 138.

Mr De Haan submitted, and their Lordships accepted, that section 23 of the 1971 Act fell to be construed in a markedly similar context to that of the earlier authorities cited, a very different context from that arising in *In re Company*.

It followed from all that that the appellant was only properly to be regarded as implicated by section 23 if, as the assistant general manager of the shop, he had the management of the whole affairs of the company, was entrusted with power to transact the whole of the affairs of the company and was managing in a governing role the affairs of the company itself.

The intended scope of section 23 was, their Lordships accepted, fixed with criminal liability only those who were in a position of real authority, the decision makers within the company who had both the power and responsibility to decide corporate policy and strategy. It was to those responsible for putting proper

procedures in place; it was not meant to strike at underlings. Their Lordships were certainly disposed to agree that the appellant could well have been regarded as responsible only for the day-to-day running of the bookshop rather than enjoying any sort of governing role in regard to the affairs of the company itself.

Their Lordships believed that there was a sufficient basis on which to allow the appeal.

The standard works of law most likely to be consulted on the scope of section 23, namely, *Stones' Justices Manual*, *Stones' Statutes*, *England*, and *Redgrave, Fife and Machin, Health and Safety* (1990), were all largely silent on the point at issue and certainly omitted mention of any of the authorities to which their Lordships had referred.

Their Lordships were not merely empowered but, by virtue of section 2(1)(a) of the Criminal Appeal Act 1968, were duty bound to allow an appeal against conviction if, in all the circumstances, they thought such conviction unsafe or unsatisfactory.

Accepting as they did that the appellant without fault on his part was deprived of what was in all likelihood a good defence in law, that was their circumstance and they allowed the appeal.

Solicitors: Hart Fortgang; Mr S. J. F. Stirling; Lambeth.

## Excessive citing of cases not helpful

**Regina v Sheffield Stipendiary Magistrate, Ex parte Stephens**

Before Lord Justice Beldam and Mr Justice Tudor Evans  
[Judgment March 6]

The principles as to how a court was to approach the question of excessive citing of cases which appeared on charges at the magistrates' court in May 1990 and he was committed for crown court trial in November. He was arraigned in January 1991 and the case was adjourned for a date to be fixed.

Following further enquiries by the Crown Prosecution Service, three other young trainees were interviewed and in May it was decided to prosecute them on the ground of indecent exposure. A number of cases were cited to the magistrate. It seemed to his Lordship that when the principles applicable to the exercise of power by magistrates in determining whether there had been an abuse of process of court had been authoritatively stated, it had been

said that they should be used sparingly.

The excessive citing of cases, often not authoritatively reported, could lead to misunderstanding of the proper approach and stemmed from the failure to distinguish between submissions to persuade the court that no case to answer had been made and submissions that to allow the case to proceed would amount to an abuse of process.

The three cases which gave clear guidance as to the court's approach on the question of abuse of process were *R v Derby Crown Court, Ex parte Brooks* (1984) 80 Cr App R 164, *R v Bow Street Stipendiary Magistrate, Ex parte DPP* (1989) 91 Cr App R 283 and *R v Telford Justices, Ex parte Badhan* (1991) 2 QB 78.

It was unfortunate that the case of *R v LPS* (1990) 91 Cr App R 359 was drawn to the magistrates' attention as it seemed to rely on it as if it was of general application.

Mr Tudor Owen said that that case was frequently put before justices in cases of sexual offences to persuade them that the rules might apply to such cases. If that was the situation it was to be greatly discouraged.

Any suggestion that a particular category of case might not amount to an abuse of process where there had been long delay causing prejudice and unfairness had to be wrong. Each case depended on its own facts.

The magistrate appeared to compare the prejudice to the applicant from the alleged delay and to the difficulties a complainant might have to face at trial in explaining her delay in making a complaint. The two issues were not comparable and if the magistrate had done so on the basis of *R v LPS*, he was wrong and took a view of that case the judge there did not intend.

On the facts of the present case the magistrate's conclusion that the criminal proceedings should go ahead was correct although he had used the wrong reasons or taken account of matters he ought not to have.

There was no evidence that the prosecution had caused delay, nor was it established that a fair trial could no longer be had.

Mr Justice Tudor Evans agreed.

Solicitors: Norrie Bowler & Wrigley, Sheffield; CPS, Sheffield.

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## BBC 1

- 6.00 Cee-fax (51622) 6.30 Breakfast News (57774790)  
9.05 A Day in the Life of... Western adventure series (1544535)  
9.55 A Day in the Life of... Western adventure series (1544535)  
10.00 News regional news and weather (8706897) 10.05 Playdays (s) (8365822) 10.25 Poddington Peas. Cartoon (r) (8708784) 10.35 Glibberish. Kenny Everett tests the wit and improvisation skills of two teams of celebrities (9313516)  
11.00 News, regional news and weather 11.05 Rosemary Conley answers slimming questions at Sheffield's Meadowhall Shopping Centre (3952177) 11.30 People Today with Miriam Stoppard and Adrian Miles (9731750). Including at 12.00 News, regional news and weather 12.20 Poddington Peas. The actor Tom Courtenay talks about his stage and screen career. Music is provided by Gerry and the Pacemakers (2468719) 12.55 Regional news and weather (9308303)  
1.00 One O'Clock News and weather (11500)  
1.30 Neighbours (Cee-fax) (s) (91430023)  
1.50 Going for Gold. Henry Kelly hosts the European quiz show (48371559)  
2.15 Knots Landing: A Many Splendoured Thing. Dallas-style intrigue on the west coast (3579429)  
3.00 The Odd Couple. American comedy series about two mismatched flatmates. Starring Tom Randall and Jack Klugman (873871)  
3.25 Bazaar. Nerys Hughes with handy tips and ideas (8821806)  
3.50 Children's BBC: Orville and Cuddles (5341055) 3.55 Radio Roo (s) (6223326) 4.10 The Story of Doctor Doolittle. Bernard Cribbins reads a story for Jackanory (s) (5827142) 4.25 Fantastic Max (r) (4647852) 4.35 Teenage Mutant Hero Turtles. (Cee-fax) (2775016) 5.00 Newsround (6640061) 5.05 Blue Peter. (Cee-fax) (s) (8500177)  
5.35 Neighbours (r) (Cee-fax) (s) (354332) Northern Ireland: Inside Ulster  
6.00 One O'Clock News and weather (871)  
6.30 Regional News Magazines (351). Northern Ireland: Neighbours (r) (Cee-fax)  
7.00 Wogan. Among Terry's guests is Nicholas Lyndhurst who plays Rodney in Only Fools and Horses (9239)  
7.30 Watchdog. Sue Gehrig reports on the latest blow dealt to people whose lives have been affected by the use of tranquillisers (535)  
8.00 Murrumbidgee. Karl Howman stars as the enigmatic handyman to Geraldine McEwan's cantankerous spinster. (Cee-fax) (s) (1887)



Underwater blues: family life of the pilot whale (8.30pm)

- 8.30 Wildlife on One: Little Leviathans. Underwater documentary about the close-knit and well-organised family life of the pilot whale. Narrated by David Attenborough. (Cee-fax) (s) (38252)  
9.00 Nine O'Clock News regional news and weather (83245)  
9.50 Panorama. David Dimbleby chairs a debate on the issues that will determine the outcome of the general election (882719). Northern Ireland: 10.10 Scan  
10.30 Cagney and Lacey: Post Partum. A West Point cadet is held on a raucous charge. Starring Sharon Gleason, Tyne Daly and Andrew Brennan (r) (Cee-fax) (818055). Northern Ireland: 10.40 Sessions from the Seventies  
11.20 Gardens by Design. In the last of the series, David Stevens compares domestic plots with Stowe's landscaped gardens in Buckinghamshire, and looks at the work of two alternative designers (r) (7304113). Northern Ireland: 11.35 The Sky at Night  
11.50 Advice Shop. A report on the quality of life attainable by people living on a basic state pension (r) (493248). Northern Ireland: 11.55 Advice Shop  
12.10am Weather (860033) 12.15 Close  
2.00 The Way Ahead. The ninth of 12 programmes explaining the April's benefits for the disabled (664123). Ends at 2.15

## BBC 2

- 8.00 News (9559874)  
8.15 Westminster (9476897)  
8.30 Busting Butler. The Staffordshire and Worcestershire Canal (r) (1848)  
9.00 Daytime on Two: Educational programmes (37502087)  
2.00 News and weather (7410080) followed by Storyline (r) (8665351)  
2.15 The Best Rooms in the House. Vivian White visits the private apartments belonging to the Speaker of the House of Commons (5497871). Northern Ireland: Our Roving Reporter; 2.20 Harry and the Hendersons  
3.00 News and weather (3467874) followed by Village Praise. Pam Rhodes visits the former mining community of Rhoslanerchrugog in north Wales (r). (Cee-fax) (s) (6945784)  
3.40 Glyn Christian's Serendipity. On today's menu is fish in Sri Lankan cuisine and rice-flour pancakes (4486423) 3.50 News and weather, regional news and weather (4302413)  
4.00 Watchdog. Paul Coia hosts the word game (254)  
4.30 Slow Start From Samuels. Jack Pizzey investigates Thai diplomacy (r). (Cee-fax) (22413)  
5.30 Film '92 with Barry Norman (r) (s) (500)  
6.00 The Adams Family: Gomez the Politician (b/w). In a topical episode, election fever grips the household. Starring John Astin. (Cee-fax) (520516)  
6.25 Defi It: The Fresh Prince of Bel Air (537326) followed at 6.50 by Open to Question (442239)  
7.30 Young Master of the Year: Masterclasses (s) (197897)  
8.10 Horizon. Reporting on fusion power. (Cee-fax) (s) (184230)  
9.00 The Mary Whitehouse Experience. Comedy revue (s) (8158)



Pub crawl: growing old disgracefully in south Wales (9.30pm)

- 9.30 The Old Devils  
● CHOICE: Kingsley Amis's novel about growing old disgracefully in south Wales comes to television with a screenplay by Andrew Davies of House of Cards and a hand-picked cast of seasoned players. That few of them are Welsh is happily no handicap. John Stride plays the worshipping television star who returns to his roots with his handsome wife (Gillian Allen) and proceeds to disrupt the routine of pub crawls and alcoholic coffee mornings enjoyed by a group of old friends from the 1950s. As in the book there is a lack of narrative drive and the humour comes in irregular bursts. But the comic melancholy of the piece is admirably conveyed in Davies's pointed script and understated performances from the ever dependable James Groux and Bernard Hepton. The late Ray Smith shines in his final screen role. (Cee-fax) (883933)  
10.20 Obsessions  
● CHOICE: The team responsible for Uncertainties offers a new series of ten-minute films designed to exploit the creative interaction of text, music and image. While Whitehall's lead is a documentary impulse, Obsessions leans towards the imaginative. Seven writers contribute essays on things which obsess them, starting with Sara Maitland on what she sees as the inseparable link between beauty and danger. Her text, spoken by the actress Tilda Swinton, ranges over childhood memories of fireworks, the Spanish conquistadors and their search for El Dorado and the metaphysics of caterpillars into butterfly. The words are embellished by a busy and inventive visual style, creating a thinking person's pop video in which content manages to hold its own with style. (Cee-fax) (725413)  
10.30 Newswatch (541871)  
11.25 The Late Show (s) (486142) 12.05am Weather (781475)  
12.10 Open University: Piping Hot (33017). Ends at 12.30

## ITV

- 6.00 TV-am (2427351)  
9.25 Lucky Laddies. Lennie Bennett hosts the word game (s) (906287) 9.55 Theme News (8327974)  
10.00 The Time... The Place... Topical discussion programme (8476351)  
10.40 This Morning. Judy Finnigan and Richard Madeley host the magazine show. Including at 10.55 ITN News headlines, and at 11.55 Theme News (4172968)  
12.10 Rosie and Jim. Children's show (5075326)  
12.30 ITN Lunchtime News. (Oracle) Weather (7454988) 1.10 Theme News (7781787)  
1.20 Home and Away. (Oracle) (6860887)  
1.50 A Country Practice (s) (3673887)  
2.20 Theme News. Jackie Spedley looks at the campaign for healthier food for children (46888603)  
2.50 Families (s) (688887) 3.15 ITN News headlines (2429061) 3.20 Theme News headlines (2429074)  
3.25 The Young Doctors (873428)  
3.55 Children's ITV: Road Runner. Cartoon (r) (6431622) 4.00 Wall of the World. (Oracle) (6345871) 4.35 Cuts to the Chase. Reunited. Cartoon adventures (7767835) 4.50 Art Attack. Neil Buchanan returns with the art series (5653328)  
5.10 Blockbusters. Bob Holness hosts the teenage quiz (8594518)  
5.40 ITN Early Evening News with John Suchet. (Oracle) Weather (430035)  
5.55 Theme News (r) (173142) 6.00 Home and Away (r). (Oracle) (239)  
6.30 Theme News. (Oracle) (719)



Train spotting: John Carter explores Florida Keys (7.00pm)

- 7.00 Wish You Were Here... 7 Last in the series with Judith Chalmers reporting from Euro Disney, John Carter looking at the Florida Keys and Christine Buchan finding out about holidays in the New Forest. Britain's best National Park. (Oracle) (s) (8185)  
7.30 Coronation Street. (Oracle) (803)  
8.00 Take Your Pick. Revival of the ancient quiz, with Des O'Connor as giggling host (s) (3055)  
8.30 World in Action. Second part of a report in which a journalist goes as a down-and-out and discovers the violence encountered by the homeless (879)  
9.00 The Advocate: Above the Law. The Scottish legal drama continues with Dunbar & Partners trying to defend its reputation and Katherine deciding to take a stand. (Oracle) (2245)  
10.00 News at Ten. (Oracle) Weather (15719) 10.30 Theme News (81531)  
10.40 Aspects of the Year of the Monkey. Michael Aspel reports on the making of the 1992 Piffl calendar, which is based on the Chinese zodiac (153245)  
11.15 Film: Doctors' Private Lives. Formula television pilot about doctors at a university hospital. Starring John Gavin and Doree Miller. Directed by Steven Hilliard Stern (820354)  
1.00 Sportsworld Extra with Tony Francis (1223)  
2.00 Film: They Came From Beyond Space (1987). Feisty science-fiction nonsense about alien recruiting slaves from Earth to help them conquer the galaxy. Starring Robert Hutton, Jennifer Jayne and Michael Gough. Directed by Freddie Francis (98511)  
3.30 Rump the Whisker. Drama series set in 19th-century South Africa (s) (90814)  
4.30 Stage One. Featuring Barclay James Harvest (s) (40833)  
5.30 ITN Morning News (71272). Ends at 6.00

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## CHANNEL 4

- 6.00 Channel 4 Daily (3426893) 9.25 Schools (54812803)  
12.00 Night to Reply with Sheena McDonald (r). (Teletext) (s) (13072)  
12.30 Business Daily. News from the Stock Exchange (51065)  
1.00 Sesame Street (49210)  
2.00 Film: Child in the House (1956, b/w). Old-fashioned weepie about a young girl who is sent to stay with her severe aunt and uncle while her father hides from police and her mother is in a hospital. With Phyllis Calvert and Mandy Miller, who also played together in Mandy, the acclaimed drama about a dear child. Directed by Cy Endfield (534148)  
3.35 Land Above the Trees. The plants and animals living in Canada's alpine zone (838622)  
4.00 Fuffling Passions. Anna Pavord visits the Elvedon Estate in Suffolk and Stourton House in Wiltshire (r). (Teletext) (332)  
4.30 Countdown. Word and numbers game (s) (518)  
5.00 The Late Late Show with Gay Byrne from Dublin (1448)  
6.00 The Cosby Show. Theo takes a trip to see a live television show (r). (Teletext) (581)  
6.30 Tonight with Jonathan Ross. Live from London (s) (531)  
7.00 Channel 4 News with Jon Snow and Zeinab Badawi. Weather (883245)  
7.50 Voters. Three voters in Wolverhampton discuss what they regard as the important issues in the election campaign (79582)  
8.00 Brookside. (Teletext) (s) (1697)  
8.30 Evening Shade. Burt Reynolds has his moustache shaved off in the folksy American comedy about a former footballer working in his home town as a coach (s) (6332)  
9.00 Cutting Edge  
● CHOICE: George Case's film reopens the cases of three Black Panther activists who were given life sentences for murder in the early 1970s. They are still in prison and protesting their innocence, claiming they were framed by the police and FBI because of their militant campaigns for political and social change. Two of the men were accused of killing a policeman in a bomb explosion in Omaha, Nebraska. The other was charged with murdering a woman on a tennis court in Los Angeles. All three were well known to the police as Black Power militants. The film considers the evidence against them step by step and argues that in both cases the prosecution relied on the testimony of witnesses who have since been discredited. The arguments are persuasive. Britain, it seems, has no monopoly on miscarriages of justice (3577)



Meeting the locals: Rob Morrow settles in Cicely (10.00pm)

- 10.00 Northern Exposure  
● CHOICE: An import from the United States, Northern Exposure has drawn comparisons with David Lynch's cult hit Twin Peaks with which it shares an acoustic small-town setting and quirky humour. We are in the remote community of Cicely, Alaska, which has a population of 215, most of them crazy. They include a glamorous bush pilot whose five boyfriends have managed to die on her, a young American Indian obsessed with Woody Allen and a former astronaut determined to transform the town with hamburger joints and shopping malls. Starring Jon Hamm, the gentle madman is Rob Morrow as a young Jewish doctor from New York, who would rather not be there but is obliged to stay. Produced by the creators of the hospital series St Elsewhere, Northern Exposure is crisply written and has a reliable line in deadpan jokes (s) (3574)  
11.00 From 80 Degrees Below. Gleaned from documents and eyewitness accounts, the story of the voyage home by survivors of the Spanish Armada (94887)  
12.00 Midnight Special. Return of the late-night series, with Vincent Hanna and Sheena McDonald taking turns at reviewing the news of the day and latest stories, as well as chairing debates and looking at key election issues (4421)  
2.00am Tonight with Jonathan Ross (r) (s) (82748). Ends at 2.30

## SATellite

- SKY ONE  
● Via the Astra and Mariposa satellites.  
6.00am The DJ Kat (8047887) 8.40 Newsround (8742328) 8.55 Playhouse (8471419) 9.10 Cartoon (8742328) 9.30 The New Look: 4 to 5 (84311) 10.00 Maude (13328) 10.30 The Young Doctors (52524) 11.00 The Bold and the Beautiful (13125) 11.30 The Young and the Restless (13125) 12.30am Starline (88806)  
3.30am World (88122) 3.55am News (88122) 4.00am News (88122) 4.35am News (88122) 4.55am News (88122) 5.00am News (88122) 5.30am News (88122) 5.50am News (88122) 6.00am News (88122) 6.30am News (88122) 6.50am News (88122) 7.00am News (88122) 7.30am News (88122) 7.50am News (88122) 8.00am News (88122) 8.30am News (88122) 8.50am News (88122) 9.00am News (88122) 9.30am News (88122) 9.50am News (88122) 10.00am News (88122) 10.30am News (88122) 10.50am News (88122) 11.00am News (88122) 11.30am News (88122) 11.50am News (88122) 12.00am News (88122) 12.30am News (88122) 12.50am News (88122) 1.00am News (88122) 1.30am News (88122) 1.50am News (88122) 2.00am News (88122) 2.30am News (88122) 2.50am News (88122) 3.00am News (88122) 3.30am News (88122) 3.50am News (88122) 4.00am News (88122) 4.30am News (88122) 4.50am News (88122) 5.00am News (88122) 5.30am News (88122) 5.50am News (88122) 6.00am News (88122) 6.30am News (88122) 6.50am News (88122) 7.00am News (88122) 7.30am News (88122) 7.50am 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